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California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society
fall 1981



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COVER

Young children picking grapes in the vineyards outside of Fresno (c.1919) as photographed by Claude C. "Pop" Laval. Devoting over fifty years to his craft, Laval left a remarkable pictorial record of life in and around the San Joaquin Valley. The story of this California photographer begins on page 244.

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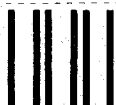
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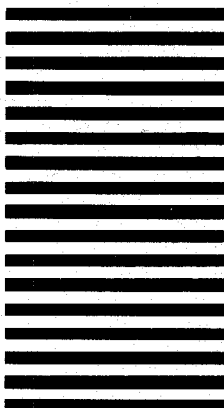
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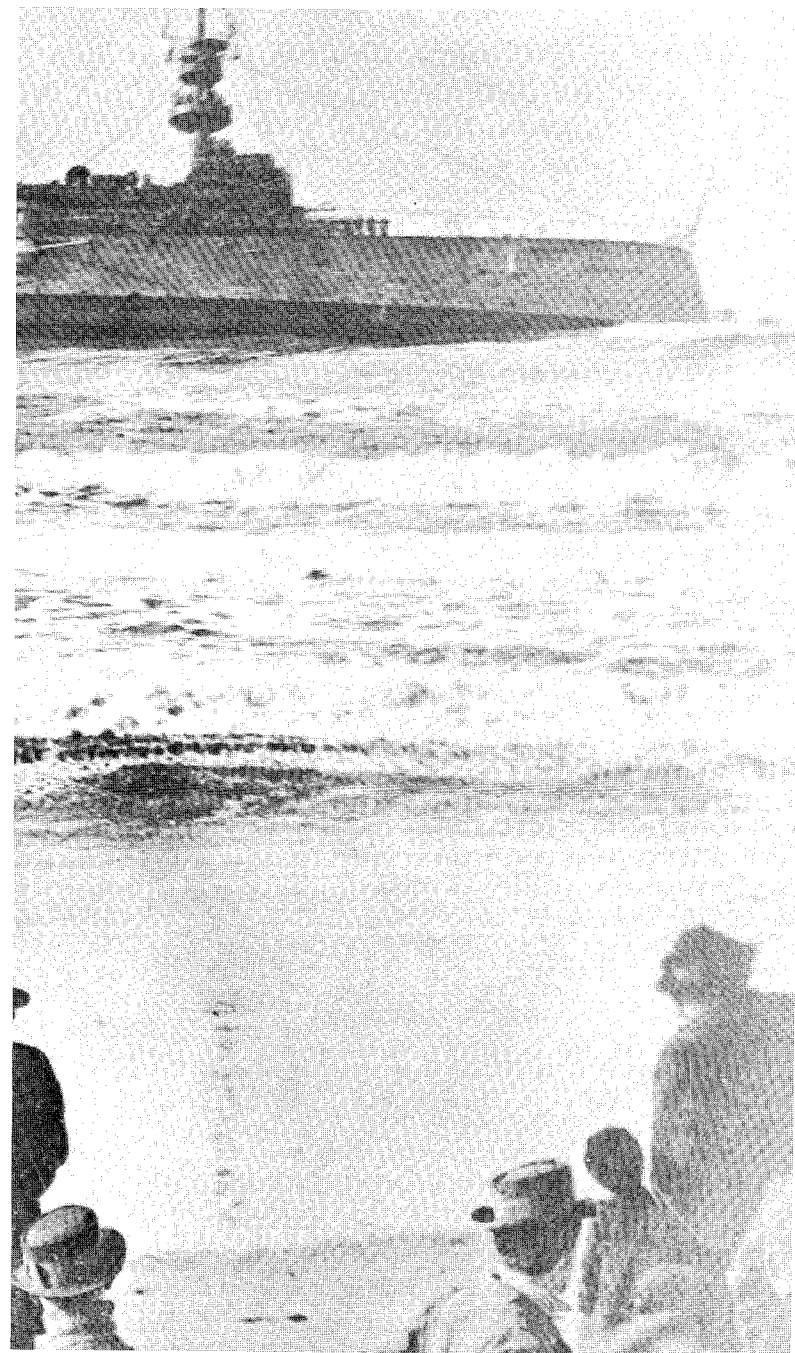
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Maritime Fiasco on the Northern



The U.S.S. Milwaukee ran aground January 13, 1917 at 4:10 a.m. when it attempted to pull the submarine H-3 from the Samoa beach.

California Coast



The Northern California coast, often called the “graveyard of the Pacific,” has always been a dangerous one. From October through March, the southern storms, which originate in Alaskan waters, strike the coast with tremendous fury. Gale chases gale, lashing the coast with pounding and slashing combers.

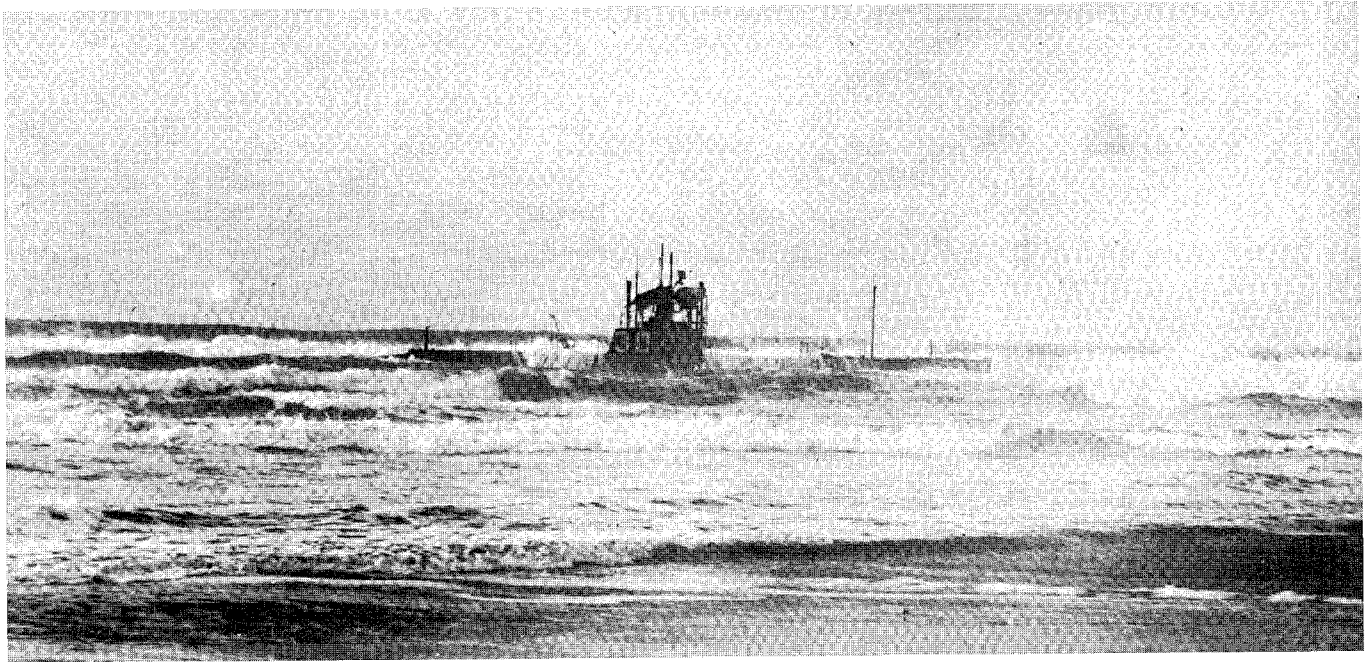
One of the most spectacular ship disasters on the Pacific Coast occurred on the Humboldt Peninsula, opposite the city of Eureka, in the early morning of January 13, 1917. The cruiser *USS Milwaukee* ran aground when Captain F. W. Newton attempted to pull the submarine *H-3* from the Samoa beach. Before the *USS H-3* went aground, twenty-seven vessels had, in the preceding years, gone ashore in the area, many with loss of life. Because of the treacherous waters, the U.S. Government, in 1879, had established the U.S. Lifesaving Service Rescue Station at the southern end of the peninsula near the Humboldt Bay bar. Later in 1936 the Humboldt Bay Coast Guard Station was built on the same location.

On December 13, 1916, the Eureka Chamber of Commerce received a message from the government radio station at Table Bluff that the *USS Cheyenne*, commanded by Commander W.B. Howe, and the submarines *H-1*, *H-2*, and *H-3* would be off the Humboldt bar the next morning: “The second submarine division fleet will be off Humboldt bar about 8 a.m., Thursday December 14 for the purpose of getting information regarding facilities for caring for submarines. Would appreciate any help you can give us. Howe”¹

The monitor *Cheyenne*, accompanied by the *H-1*,

Lynwood Carranco has published some twenty-one articles in professional journals on language, history and folklore and serves on the advisory board of *Journal of the West*. His books include *The Redwood Country: History, Language and Folklore* (Kendall/Hunt), *Logging the Redwoods* (Caxton Press) and *Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California* (University of Oklahoma Press).

The submarine H-3 went aground on December 14, 1916 on the Samoa beach. This photograph was taken after the twenty-seven men were taken ashore.



H-2, and *H-3*, had left Bremerton and was cruising down the coast, having stopped at Grays Harbor, the Columbia River, and at Coos Bay.²

The cruise was supposedly to gather information about facilities at coast ports for the care of submarine vessels. The Eureka Chamber made arrangements with Captain Petterson of the tug *Relief* to meet the submarine fleet off the bar and to pilot the ships in, bar conditions permitting.³

As the fleet neared the Humboldt Bay bar in rough seas and foggy weather, the *H-3*, according to one story, was temporarily disabled when a diesel failed to function. In those days the submarines had short conning towers which afforded little visibility, navigating equipment was crude, and radio direction finder stations on the Pacific Coast were few and far between. Lieutenant Harry Bogusch and Lieutenant E. F. Demke, because of the crippled engine, decided

to head into the calm waters of Humboldt Bay. As the *H-3* was slowly feeling her way along the foggy coast, Lieutenant Bogusch discovered that the diver was inside the first line of breakers. The one engine was not strong enough to move the sub back out, and soon the *H-3* with twenty-seven men was broadside in the breakers about three hundred yards offshore, pounding and rolling in the surf opposite the southern end of the Hammond Lumber Company town of Samoa. The date was December 14, 1916.⁴

About 8:30 a.m. three Samoa schoolboys on the school grounds thought that they saw a whale in the surf about a half mile south of the school. Pat Gallagher, Robert Hensel, and Curtis Peterson ran across the sand dunes to get a better look and discovered the *H-3* rolling in the breakers. The boys quickly informed their teachers, Nina Graham and

Esther Merkey, who checked and then sent the boys to notify Walter Pratt, the chief electrician for the Hammond Lumber Company.⁵

Walter Pratt immediately phoned the authorities in Eureka. About the same time the Table Bluff Wireless Station picked up the first message from the *H-3* to the *Cheyenne* which was twenty miles offshore. The *Cheyenne* could not communicate with the *H-3* and asked the Table Bluff Station to send out a tug and a Coast Guard boat. The tug *Relief*, the Coast Guard boat, and the monitor *Cheyenne* raced to the area of the wreck, but nothing could be done. The *H-3* was lying in a heavy surf about two hundred yards offshore, and the breakers made it impossible for the vessels to get within safe distance to render assistance.⁶

Meanwhile residents of Samoa soon appeared on the scene, and an occasional burst of the diver's whistle revealed that someone was calling for assistance. By that afternoon several thousand people from Eureka and the surrounding towns had gathered on the beach to observe the beached sub and to offer any help that was needed.⁷

The crew from the lifesaving station arrived on the beach about 12 p.m. with lifesaving equipment. The crew shot two lines across the sub, but none of the crew appeared on the battered deck of the diver which was rolling from side to side in the heavy surf. About 1:45 p.m. one of the diver's crewmen came out on deck and made a desperate attempt to make fast the line which the Coast Guard crew had shot aboard, but he was unsuccessful.⁸

When Commander Howe of the *Cheyenne* saw that he could not help the *H-3* from the sea, he headed for the bay to offer assistance. The *Cheyenne* crossed the bar at 1:45 p.m. and anchored off Quarantine (south of Samoa near Fairhaven) while the crew put ashore in small boats. By 2:15 p.m. Howe and his crew were on the scene of the wreck. The other two sub-

marines, the *H-1* and *H-2*, found it too difficult to cross the treacherous bar, and Howe gave them permission to proceed to San Francisco.⁹

Four or five crewmen came out of the diver about 2:30 p.m. to cut away the superstructure with an ax, but they finally gave up as the breakers washed over the rolling *H-3*. As the seas began to moderate, a crewman came out on deck and signalled ashore with the aid of flags that all were alive although two men had sustained injuries.¹⁰

The arrival of Captain Lawrence Ellison with a lifeboat, about 3:30 p.m., relieved the tense situation. When Captain Ellison had received the distress call, he and his crew had put out to sea to help. Seeing that nothing could be done, he had returned and with his crew had hauled the lifeboat up the beach from the station.¹¹

When the lifeboat was not launched immediately because of the dangerous surf, aggressive Commander Howe became angry and asked the cautious Captain Ellison, who had experienced the dangerous waters, why an effort was not made to send the boat through the churning surf. After a heated exchange of words, Captain Ellison and his eight-man crew succeeded in launching the boat through the rough surf and moving close to the lee of the rolling *H-3*. Werner Sweins, one of the crew, leaped on board the sub, but a huge wave swept him off. The strong, agile sailor grasped a line and pulled himself aboard; again he was washed off but managed to cling to a rope. He finally reached the deck and kicked the conning tower to let the diver crew know of his presence.¹²

Although considerable time was required for the Coast Guard crew to rig the gear on the sub for a breeches buoy because of the rolling diver and the rough surf, the breeches buoy was rigged by 4:45 p.m., and J. J. Burns, gunner's mate first class, was the first man to be hauled ashore. The two ropes

“The ship and her equipment were valued at \$7,000,000. . . .”

ashore for pulling the buoy each way were eagerly manned by citizens and members of the *Cheyenne's* crew. Each man when pulled across was submerged in the icy surf before coming to shore in the cold wind. Finally by 6:05 p.m. Lieutenant Bogusch, Captain of the *H-3* and the last man to leave, stepped onto the Samoa beach.¹³

As the battered, half-conscious twenty-seven men reached the beach, they were picked up and carried to a camp built on the sands by the hospital corps formed by Lieutenant A. B. Adams and Doctor Carl Wallace of the local Fifth Division Naval Militia. Their wet clothing was removed, they were wrapped in warm blankets, and they were given a stimulant. I. H. Blabon had lost three fingers of his right hand, and J. M. Anderson had a badly crushed hand. Both injuries had occurred during the forenoon when the two men had attempted to lift the hatch on the conning tower. The members of the crew were then taken to the homes of W. W. Peed, A. C. Charters, and others in Samoa where they spent the night.¹⁴

Although Commander Howe believed that the *H-3* could be pulled from the Samoa beach, the local waterfront men expressed their opinion that the sub could not be saved because the surf conditions differed greatly from those of southern California. Commander Howe, who had wired his superiors at Mare Island that “the Coast Guard service was very poor,” was ordered to take command of salvage operations, placing Captain Ellison under him. Howe’s comment on the beaching of the diver was that “the fog was heavy, and I suppose the fog hampered the operations of the *H-3* also; I believe Lieutenant Bogusch had no idea he was near shore.”¹⁵

A short time before the beaching of the *H-3*, the destroyers and submarines of the Pacific Fleet had been combined in a task command called the Coast Torpedo Force under a single Force Commander, who was also commanding officer of the Force Flag-

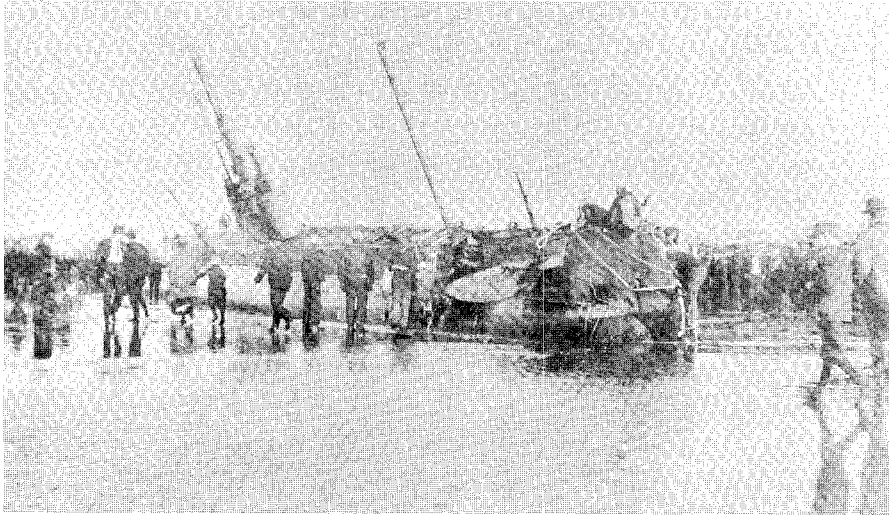
ship and tender, the first class seven-million-dollar *Milwaukee* of 10,000 tons. The *Milwaukee* was then at Mare Island, getting an overhaul which included the installation of heavy machine tools, fitting her as a tender with ship equipment capable of all routine repairs to the coast torpedo vessels short of a major navy yard overhaul. At this time the Force Commander had been detached because of the cruiser’s long stay at the navy yard, and the senior officer, Lieutenant F. W. Newton, who had had only ten years’ experience in submarines, was in temporary command as Captain.¹⁶

The *H-3* had run aground at the Samoa beach before the new Force Commander arrived from the East Coast. At this time Lieutenant Harvey Haislip, who was in command of a destroyer lying in reserve at Mare Island and who was to play a major part in the futile salvaging of the *H-3*, was ordered aboard the tug *Iroquois* to go with Captain Newton to Eureka to pull the stranded sub. The monitor *Cheyenne* and the Coast Guard cutter *McCullough* would be standing by to assist in salvage operations.¹⁷

Although a seagoing tug, the *Iroquois* was not equipped for salvage operations, and the navy men were not experienced in salvage work. The *Iroquois* arrived Saturday morning, December 16, and Captain Newton established communications with Lieutenant Bogusch of the *H-3* who had made a camp on the sand near the diver which was now high and dry at low tide.¹⁸

Before the *Iroquois* arrived, the Coast Guard cutter *McCullough*, which had arrived opposite the sub the day before, had launched a boat as close to the breakers as possible, and a line attached to a buoy had been put in the water but had failed to drift to shore. The next day, Saturday, the *Iroquois* and the *McCullough* made unsuccessful attempts to float a line to the shore. In the afternoon at 2:45 p.m., Commander

Maritime Fiasco



The H-3 at low tide on December 15. The disabled submarine attracted huge crowds to the peninsula. The H-3 and the Milwaukee (below) after the futile attempt to pull the beached submarine.



*Tour of inspection, January 19, 1917.
From left to right: Commander W. B.
Howe, Commander C. F. Preston,
Admiral W. B. Caperton and Surgeon
W. B. Steadman.*



Howe, taking Captain Ellison and his crew, steamed from anchorage in the bay and joined the two ships opposite the *H-3*. Howe directed Ellison and his crew to take a line in to shore from the *Cheyenne*, but the line slipped from the surfboat.¹⁹ On the following day, under a heavy blanket of fog, the monitor *Cheyenne* tried unsuccessfully to float lines ashore while three thousand people watched.²⁰

On Monday, December 18, Lieutenant Bogusch, skipper of the *H-3*, borrowed a surfboat from the Lifesaving crew and with a volunteer crew brought out a light line through the hazardous surf to the tug *Iroquois*. Gradually the size of the thin rope was increased to a ten-inch hawser which was secured to the monitor *Cheyenne*. At the next high tide, on Tuesday, December 19, with the *Iroquois* towing in tandem ahead of the *Cheyenne*, the first pull began, the hawser grew taut, and the propellers of the two ships churned up great whirlpools of water. Under the pull the *H-3* swiveled a little in the sand until she was headed more directly out to sea. But that was all. After more pulling the 10-inch Manila rope parted between the sub and the *Cheyenne*.²¹

On the following day, Wednesday, December 20, rain, fog, and a heavy surf hampered operations. Storm warnings were flying, and salvage operations were suspended. The next day the salvage fleet headed for the smooth waters of Humboldt Bay to let the gale blow itself out. But the sea was piling up on

the entrance bar in great mountains of white water. Unwilling to risk another maritime disaster, all ships proceeded to San Francisco. Before the *Cheyenne* left, the tug *Relief* put Lieutenant Bogusch aboard. Ten men remained on the beach to guard the *H-3*.²²

In the meantime the Navy Department sent Captain Whitelaw to Eureka to look over the situation. His comments were the following: "Relaunching the *H-3* with the present conditions of the surf is very uncertain and extremely difficult, but to haul the diver over the beach would cost . . . about \$75,000 or more. The *H-3* is damaged to the extent of \$4,000." As to the continuing dissension between Captain Ellison of the Coast Guard and the naval officers, his remarks were that "Ellison deserves the highest praise and commendation rather than criticism for the investigation of his conduct."²³

When the ships returned to Mare Island, the Commandant of the Navy Yard, upon whom responsibility for salvage now fell, decided to turn the work over to civilian experts and called for bids to salvage the *H-3*. Two bids were received, one for \$150,000 from the largest marine salvage company on the coast and one for \$18,000 from the Mercer-Fraser Construction Company of Eureka. The first bid was considered too expensive, and the other was too little to be taken seriously.²⁴

Not happy with the bids, Captain Newton decided to try again to salvage the *H-3*. This time, in addition

to the *Cheyenne* and the *Iroquois*, they would take the *Milwaukee* whose added 24,000 horsepower should be more than adequate to free the diver from the beach. Lieutenant Haislip, because of his previous experience, was ordered to go aboard the *Milwaukee* for temporary duty as the navigating officer.²⁵

But first Captain Newton sent Lieutenant Bogusch to head the salvaging party from the beach. Bogusch arrived Thursday, January 4, 1917 with four skilled mechanics from Mare Island. A specially constructed nine-inch cable was to be used in pulling the *H-3*. The next day the salvage crew worked to connect the nine-inch steel hawser to the steel hull of the diver. Bogusch also supervised the construction of a wireless plant near the submarine to communicate with the *Cheyenne* and the *Milwaukee*. The *Milwaukee* arrived Sunday, January 7 to join the *Cheyenne*, which had arrived earlier, and anchored to seaward of the breakers abreast the *H-3*.²⁶

Captain Newton, who had never commanded anything larger than a submarine, was nervous because a high surf was still running after the storm. The roar of the surf muffled conversation on the bridge, and great combers, pounding along the sandy bottom, created shock waves that could be felt through the ship's steel skin. The ship and her equipment were valued at \$7,000,000, a huge sum in 1916. But above the dollar value and service value were the lives of her nearly 450 men.²⁷

Captain Newton, a small and energetic man, ordered Lieutenant Haislip to take a whaleboat and to plant two buoys about 500 yards apart, as close to the line of breakers as the boat could safely go. As reference marks, with a searchlight kept on them at night or in fog, the buoys would warn the Captain if the ship dragged shoreward. Haislip and a crew edged shoreward to plant the buoys, watching the huge humped backs crest and rush shoreward. The task completed, the whaleboat returned to the *Milwaukee*

where Haislip was told that he should have planted the buoys closer.²⁸

Profiting from the difficulty experienced on the previous expedition in running a line from submarine to salvage ship, the *Iroquois* had towed a large steel barge from Mare Island which had been fitted with fin-like protuberances, which, it was hoped, would drive the barge into and through the surf, its bulk and weight sufficient to overcome the drag of the light line.²⁹

But the surf was higher now than it had been when the previous attempt was abandoned. The officers ashore refused to push a surfboat into the surf. Captain Newton, his patience exhausted, decided to run a line from the ship, and on Wednesday, January 10, he ordered Lieutenant Haislip again to take a whaleboat and assemble a volunteer crew. While the executive officer was getting a crew together, Haislip looked for a good surfboat on board the *Milwaukee*. Not finding what he wanted, Haislip signalled the Coast Guard cutter *McCullough*, again at the scene, to borrow a Coast Guard boat. The reply was prompt and affirmative.³⁰

A warrant officer with an efficient crew pulled the boat through rough water to the accommodation ladder. Noting their expertise, Captain Newton, hailing through a megaphone from the bridge, asked the warrant officer if he would run a line ashore. The answer was a blunt no, and the officer looked up at the Captain as if he were crazy. Then the Captain told the warrant officer to get his men out and that Haislip would take over. As the warrant officer was introduced to Haislip, he looked at him and said, "Don't be a fool. You can't run that surf . . . it's sure death."³¹

Haislip reported the Coast Guardsman's remarks to Captain Newton, but it had little effect. The Captain was determined to pull the *H-3* off, and it was now or never. The highest high water of the month

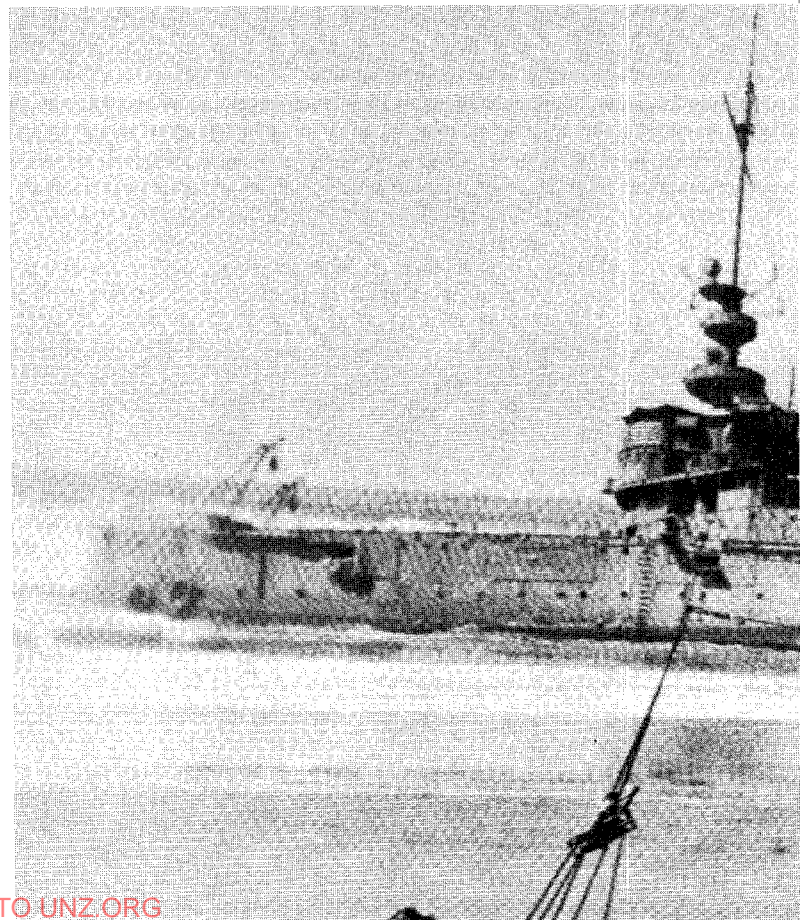
was only a few days off, the fog might set in, and another storm was about due. A line must be run and run now. The Captain told Haislip to test the surf. If he found it too big, he was to drop a special buoy inside the first line of breakers and to come back.³²

With eight inexperienced men at the oars and a coxswain at the steering oar, Haislip headed for the breakers. Nearing the first line of breakers, Haislip swung the boat around and began to back in, keeping the stem headed straight to seaward, to better control the boat in the surf and to keep the light line to the *Milwaukee* paying out smoothly. When still not into the breakers, Haislip saw a long dark ridge looming up on the horizon. He gave orders at once to head seaward to meet what looked like a tidal wave. The *Cheyenne*, anchored seaward of the *Milwaukee*, caught the wave first, and seemed to rise skyward, showing her bottom, clear to the bilge keel. Next the *Milwaukee* went over the top, her propellers sticking clear out, her bilge keels showing for half the length of the ship. The ships had safely ridden the great roller before it crested, but the roller met the boat at the moment of cresting, a wall of water, concave in form, the leading edge reaching over Haislip and the crew. Then the roof caved in—oars and men went flying from the swamped boat. When the turmoil subsided, the men got back to the boat and started rowing again with the few oars they had found.³³

A second huge comber followed the first, smashing the boat, sending it end over end—a cartwheel spewing out oars and men. Haislip was thrown clear from the boat but had the light line fouled around his arms and shoulder. Escaping from the line, he yelled to his men in the noisy surf to stay with the boat and not to attempt to try to swim ashore into the undertow. A few of the men had climbed back into the boat; others were clinging along the gunwales, arms hooked through the lifelines. The waves continued to batter the men in a Niagara of pounding water,

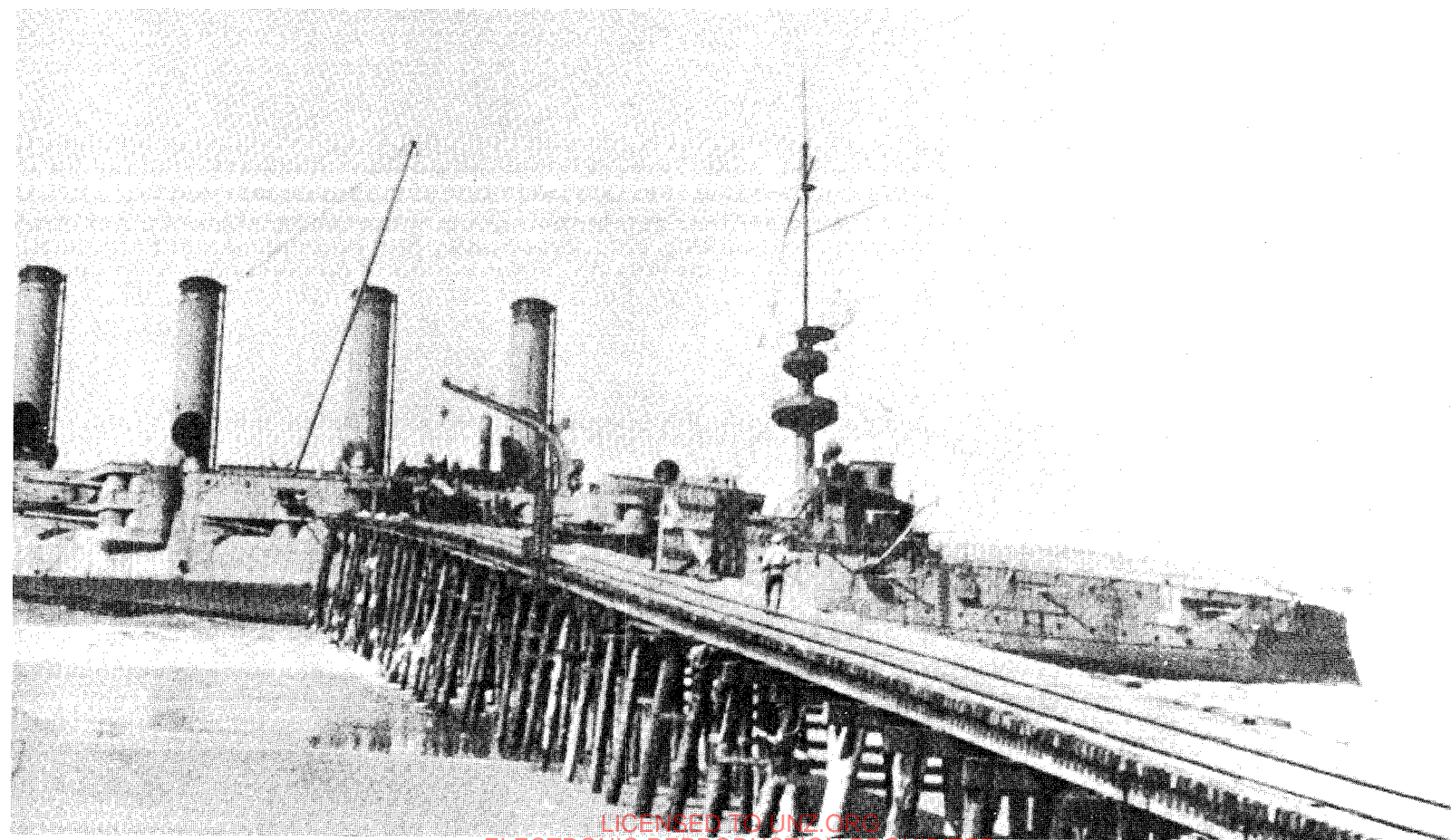
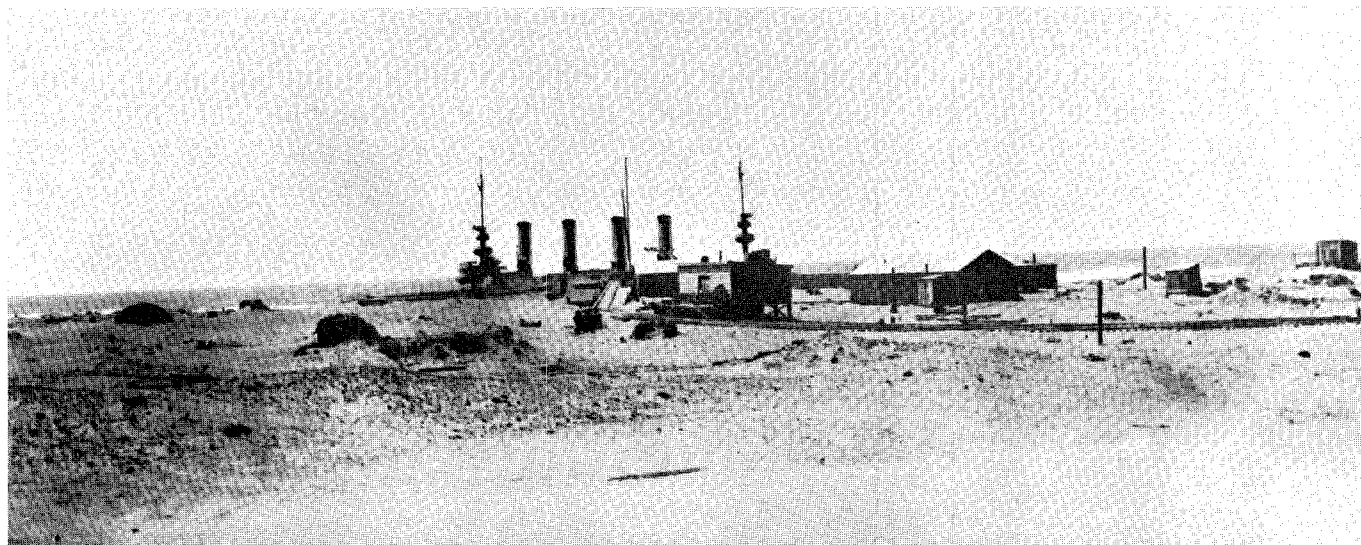
the boat rolling over and over and with fewer men clinging to it each time. Haislip, who was torn loose from the boat, struck out for the shore and then lost consciousness.³⁴

When Haislip recovered consciousness, a few hours later in a nearby home in Samoa, he saw Harry Bogusch, skipper of the *H-3* and a former Naval Academy classmate, who congratulated him on “bringing home the bacon.” The capsized surfboat had washed ashore with the line still attached to it. Haislip learned that some of the men, including him, had been pulled out unconscious by the many men on shore who had formed a human chain into the rough surf when they spotted a swimmer or crewman floating in a life jacket. G. B. Roth, the coxswain, had suffered a broken shoulder. Crewman H.



Maritime Fiasco

Two views of the Milwaukee during salvage work.



F. Parker had drowned, and his body washed ashore two days later near the north jetty.³⁵

The line from the surfboat was used to haul a nine-inch hemp line, followed by a ten-inch hemp line out to the *Milwaukee*. At high tide the next day, the Manila lines were used to haul a five-inch and a six-inch steel line, fastened together and buoyed by log floats at intervals of ten feet. These steel lines were fastened securely to a towing tackle in the sub's bow, reinforced by wire straps around the hull. Meanwhile the *Milwaukee* had moved dangerously close just beyond the breakers to take the ends of the lines of 3,600 feet of steel cables. A line had been secured from the cruiser to the tug *Iroquois* farther out to sea for insurance against disaster.³⁶

On Friday, January 12, on the second day ashore, Lieutenant Haislip, having recovered somewhat from his ordeal, went to the beach to look the situation over and found huge crowds on the beach who were alarmed for the cruiser's safety. Captain Ellison told him that the *Milwaukee* and the *Iroquois* had already taken one pull on the diver, moving it only a foot. The highest tide would come about 0300 the next morning, and he understood that Captain Newton was planning to try again. Ellison said that "This would be a disaster because the fog bank, hanging offshore, would move in. If the *Milwaukee* tried to pull in the darkness and fog, she would be set down by the strong southerly current and go ashore herself."³⁷

The beach was crowded with spectators, not wanting to miss the final disaster. And if they should miss it, they had arranged to pass the word to all. Five blasts on the Hammond Lumber Company's steam whistle would announce that the *Milwaukee* was in the breakers. Great quantities of driftwood had been gathered and made into piles along the beach, ready to light as bonfires when the time came. The Mayor of Eureka and Captain Ellison urged

Haislip to warn Captain Newton. They felt that the *Milwaukee* was in grave danger.³⁸

Captain Ellison then took Haislip and some of the crew members of the capsized surfboat across the bar and back to the *Milwaukee* in his powered boat. As they approached the cruiser, Haislip saw that the ship was a captive between an anchor that held her stem to seaward and a "dead man" in the sand, moored bow and stern with her stern less than four of her own lengths from the breaking surf. And offshore hung a thick bank of dirty grey fog, waiting patiently to smother the ships.³⁹

Captain Newton grimaced and fidgeted as Haislip relayed the warnings of the people ashore, but no amount of urging to heed the advice would dissuade him. He was determined to take another pull at high water which would come at 3 a.m. the next morning. As the two men studied the chart together, their position was not reassuring. From their anchorage, the thirty-foot curve on the beach trended about SSW, so that if the *Milwaukee* dragged or drifted to the south—and there was reported to be a strong southerly set of current—she would soon touch bottom, for she drew more than twenty-two feet. Once the anchor was off the ground, the cruiser would swing at the end of about 3,000 feet of cable, anchored firmly to the *H-3*.⁴⁰

The Captain told Haislip that the cruiser would not drift to the south because the *Iroquois* would have a line on the starboard bow, pulling northward to hold the *Milwaukee*'s head up and to keep her steaming straight to sea, and besides the *Cheyenne* would take a line from the *Milwaukee*'s stem and pull straight seaward, not only adding her 2,400 horsepower to the pull, but would, at the same time, help the *Iroquois* counteract any southerly set of current.⁴¹

Lieutenant Haislip had to check in at sick bay and was put on the sick list, thus relieving him of any responsibility that might develop. He was assigned to

“The eerie beam flitted across a maelstrom of white water. . . .”

a spare stateroom, well aft near the rudder post, over the propellers. And it was the churning of the propellers that awakened him later. The cruiser was pulling when a slight shudder ran through the ship: the rudder had touched bottom. Haislip, who had spent a restless night, left his bunk running. The bridge, except for a man at the wheel, was deserted; the engine telegraphs were set at STOP. The helmsman shouted to him that everyone had gone aft to get rid of the steel hawsers. And the compass showed that the *Milwaukee* had swung to port—to the south—the danger area. A dense fog hid the first line of breakers, but the threatening noise of the surf sounded very close.⁴²

From the foremast, a searchlight probed the heavy fog. The eerie beam flitted across a maelstrom of white water, swung back, and held. It was the propeller wake of the *Iroquois* churning desperately to hold the cruiser's head up against the current. On her fantail, a cluster of men were anxiously watching the taut Manila line. The probing light caught the glint of ax blades. Haislip was to find out later that the hawser to the *Cheyenne* had parted earlier, leaving the tug *Iroquois* alone to help the cruiser. Commander Frank Bruce on the tug tried desperately to hold the cruiser's bow toward the sea, but the tug was too small with inadequate horsepower. Although the *Iroquois* was being forced to the shore by the steady pressure of the waves and tide, Bruce held on as long as he could. But when he saw the first line of breakers in the darkness, he cut the hawser to the *Milwaukee*. The weight of the 3,600 feet of steel cables and the heavy currents were too much for the cruiser, which began to drift ashore. The heavy cables, the big swells, and the strong currents finally forced the *Milwaukee* into the breakers, her bottom plates touching the sandy bottom from time to time with each heavy swell.⁴³

Meanwhile the men worked desperately to cut the

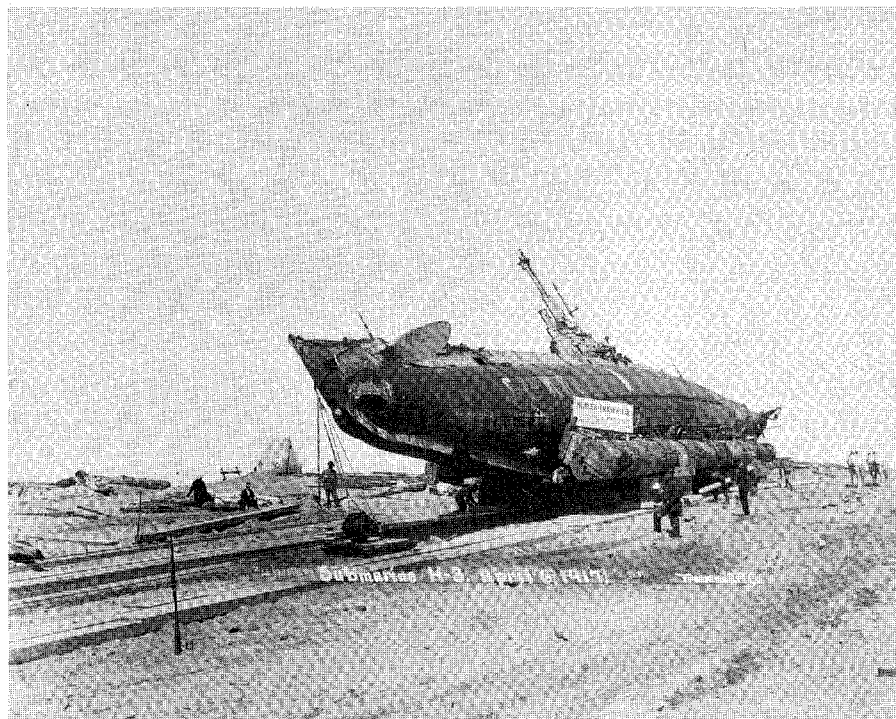
lines, but the cruiser was trapped in the mechanism with which she had hoped to save the submarine. The strong current put such a strain on the towing cables that they could not be cleared. Soon about 4:10 a.m. (January 13, 1917) the *Milwaukee* was in twelve feet of water, broadside to the beach, and tilting at a twenty-degree list.⁴⁴

Captain Newton radioed the other ships to stay clear, that the *Milwaukee* was in the breakers beyond help. The message was intercepted by the nearby Table Bluff Radio Station, and in turn was relayed to the Humboldt Bay Lifesaving Station on the peninsula. Soon after, five shrill blasts pierced the cold, foggy morning air, announcing to all that the *Milwaukee*, a seven-million-dollar, four-stack, first class cruiser, had come ashore to stay.⁴⁵

The cruiser's bottom was bilged, her decks were buckling, and her boilers had shifted. All fires were extinguished. A helpless hulk she lay there, rolling in the sand, her crew in life jackets ready to abandon ship. Although many of the men were shaken in the rolling and lurching, only one man was injured.⁴⁶

When daylight appeared, the seashore was wrapped in a dense blanket of fog. The people of the surrounding area had been aroused, and the beach was lined with hundreds of people who came to observe and to help in the rescue work. About 10 a.m. the heavy fog began to drift sulkily away, its work done. First the dim outlines of the phantom giant cruiser were visible, and gradually the definite lines of the ship could be observed. More than four hundred sailors and officers lined the decks of the cruiser.⁴⁷

The men from the Lifesaving Station were on the scene and succeeded in shooting a line to the cruiser which was secured to the main mast. Captain Newton had sent for Haislip and told him—because of his previous contacts ashore and his knowledge of conditions on the beach—to make the first trip in the breeches and to take charge shoreside as his represen-



The Mercer-Fraser Construction Company moving the H-3 across the peninsula to the bay.

tative to arrange care for the men and other details, and to check on whether the breeches buoy was working properly.⁴⁸

The *Milwaukee* was rolling, causing the line on which a breeches buoy was attached to go slack and then jerk taut. The first two passengers, Coxswain T. S. Decker and then Haislip, were jerked high in the air and then plunged into the surf. Even though the men ashore pulled as fast as they could, the men made most of the distance under water. But once the system was perfected, two men at a time were brought in.⁴⁹

The system of the breeches buoy was too slow to bring in 450 men, so a boat had to be launched. Captain Ellison refused to launch a boat immediately in the dangerous surf, so Harry Bogusch, skipper of the *H-3*, borrowed the surfboat and asked for volunteers from the large number of men on shore. Many of the local citizens volunteered. Since there were more volunteers than needed, the surfboat that had capsized, still lying where it had been dragged up on the beach, was equipped and manned. Soon two surfboats were kept busy ferrying the Navy men to shore. Relief crews were used to keep the oarsmen fresh. Rescue operations went on all day while the surf kept moderating. By 8:30 p.m. when Captain

Newton came ashore in the last boat, he and those with him were not even splashed with spray.⁵⁰

All of the survivors were taken care of that night in the bunkhouses of the Hammond Lumber Company, in the clubhouse of the Sequoia Yacht Club, and in nearby homes. But the next day, to keep the ship's company together and under control, arrangements were made to quarter the men temporarily at the New Era Park at Fairhaven. Three days later on January 17, two hundred and seventy men left on a special train for Mare Island, leaving a large crew to salvage the *Milwaukee*.⁵¹

The next day after the *Milwaukee* ran aground, five men under Yeoman First Class Frank Lavelle returned to the *Milwaukee* to remove \$128,000 which had been left on a big table in the officers' wardroom. The money was brought ashore without difficulty and taken to a bank in Eureka.⁵²

The cruiser *San Diego*, flagship of the Pacific fleet, with Admiral William B. Caperton on board, arrived off the bar Tuesday, January 16 at 7:30 a.m. Captain Ellison, in the Coast Guard boat, accompanied by Captain Newton and Commander Howe went out to the cruiser and brought Admiral Caperton and four officers to Samoa, and they proceeded to the scene of the wrecked *Milwaukee*. After a preliminary inspec-

tion of the beached cruiser, Admiral Caperton, the highest Naval officer on the coast, and his staff went to the Vance Hotel in Eureka to investigate the causes which led to the stranding of the *Milwaukee* and to confer with local contractors on the possibility of salvaging the cruiser.⁵³

In reviewing the maritime disaster of the *H-3* and the *Milwaukee*, Captain Henry Cousins, a local experienced seaman, organizer of the Humboldt Steve-dore Company, and head of the Cousins Launch and Lighter Company, publicly stated that currents off the coast were not the cause of the wrecks:

The stranding of the sub was not due to current. She was lost in the fog and was looking for the mother ship *Cheyenne*. It is my belief that the sub's commander through a rift in the fog saw smoke of the Samoa mill and believed it to be the *Cheyenne* and headed his vessel for it with the result that he grounded.

The *Milwaukee* was simply driven ashore by the seas and the tide assisted strongly by the pull of the long heavy cable extended to the sub on the beach. If the cable was fastened so it could be cast off instead of having to be cut by hacksaws, using up valuable time, the cruiser easily could have freed herself from the pull, and the anchors would have held her.⁵⁴

Naval Constructor D. C. Nutting arrived on January 17 from Mare Island to take charge of the salvage work on the *Milwaukee*. A building was built nearby for the Navy headquarters where sailors began to pack and to tag a large quantity of valuables. Tools, instruments, and supplies were placed in boxes and marked for shipment to Mare Island.⁵⁵

Meanwhile the Navy had sent up a big donkey engine from Mare Island to attempt to recover the expensive 3,600 feet of submerged steel cable worth \$5,000, lying secure on the ocean floor. Lieutenant Demke, executive officer of the *H-3*, and a crew tried unsuccessfully for two weeks to drag the cable out of the ocean before abandoning the job. Walter S.

Selvage of the Selvage Construction Company of Eureka thought that he could salvage the cable and purchased it from the government for a "small price." Selvage brought his own smaller donkey across the peninsula and by pulling at right angles to the cable, contrary to what had been done by the Navy crew, he succeeded in recovering all of the cable which was disposed of later by Frank Breeden, well-known Eureka junk dealer.⁵⁶

James Fraser of the Mercer-Fraser Construction Company of Eureka received word on January 17 that the government had accepted the company's bid of \$18,000 to salvage the *H-3* and that the contract became active immediately. A powerful donkey engine was shipped to the beach near the stranded *H-3*, and Fraser stated the following:

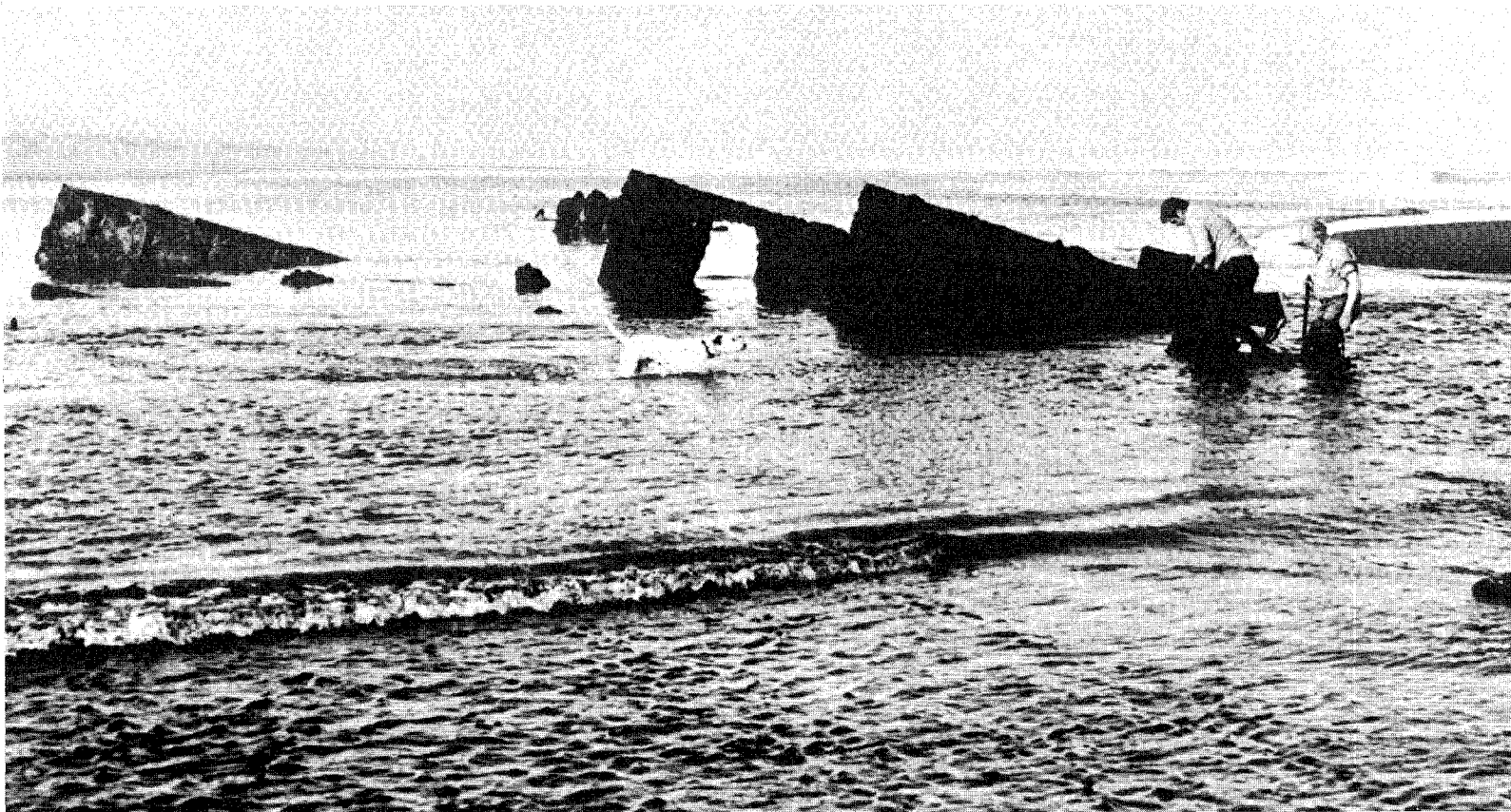
The sub would be first circled with steel cables and then connected to seven hydraulic jacks. An even pressure throughout the battery would raise the diver out of the sand; then the sub would be placed in a "crate" and moved across the peninsula on rollers, the work to be completed within ninety days.⁵⁷

Admiral Fullam arrived on the flagship *Pueblo* on January 24 to investigate the grounding of the *H-3* and *Milwaukee*. There was much discussion in the local and state newspapers on who was responsible for the *Milwaukee*. Quoting the *Oakland Tribune*, the local *Humboldt Standard* stated the following:

The coast near Eureka is the most dangerous and treacherous along the entire Pacific Coast line but the federal government had done little toward making navigation in this section less perilous. It is the policy of the Navy to entrust important commands to officers of junior rank. The *Milwaukee* was under the command of a Lieutenant when it should be under a captain with active experience. There is a shortage of naval officers for increases to man new vessels. This is a grave menace. There is a lack of trained competent commanders. There is a policy of putting ships in reserve and reducing crews of others everytime a new



Melvin Krei, editor of the Humboldt Bay Maritime Museum, poses with brass air-cooling coils taken from the hull of the Milwaukee. Below, Ray Glavich and Bill Zerlang, also from the Maritime Museum, look for artifacts in the remains of the Milwaukee (both photos, summer of 1980).



warship is commissioned. The *Milwaukee* carried about a half crew rated for such a ship. The responsibility should be placed on a dreaming incompetent Secretary of the Navy.⁵⁸

Investigation of the charges against Captain Lawrence Ellison of the local Coast Guard was begun January 23. Commander Howe had charged that Captain Ellison was incompetent and had refused to assist in launching a boat and that "Captain Ellison had refused to assist in the salvage work on the *H-3* following the stranding of that boat."⁵⁹

The first step in starting salvage work on the beached *Milwaukee* began February 5 when the Northwestern Pacific began to construct a railroad from Samoa to the beach where the cruiser lay high and dry. The Navy's plan was to connect a trestle from the railroad spur at the water's edge to the side of the ship where a wharf would be built.⁶⁰ The Mercer-Fraser bid of \$9,000 was the only bid submitted on the trestle, and on February 15 construction began from the spur which was completed February 13. The 3,500-foot trestle was finished by March 2 and the wharf alongside the cruiser on March 14.⁶¹ By March 9 a large bunkhouse was already completed for the officers and men who would be stationed on the beach, and workmen were employed to build a warehouse alongside the railroad for storing salvaged machinery.⁶²

Work on the *H-3* began February 15, but storms and high tides greatly delayed salvage operations. A bulkhead of sheet piling was built on the sea side of the sub to aid the workers. On Tuesday, March 20, the *H-3* was raised, "daylight showing clear for more than a foot below the keel for its entire length." On March 30 the sub was moved 325 feet, sideways from the water line to a place high and dry on the sand and secure from the highest water, ready for "cradling."⁶³ Two days later two huge fir logs were placed on each side of the sub and lashed together,

holding her upright.⁶⁴ Timber barks were laid in a three-foot high wooden double track across the three-quarter-mile of sand spit.⁶⁵

Another tragedy occurred on Monday, March 12, when William Donnelly, workman for the Mercer-Fraser Company, fell from the trestle while unloading planks from a truck. Although he was a good swimmer, he was carried to his death by the strong current in a rough surf.⁶⁶

In the meantime salvage work progressed on the *Milwaukee*. A huge derrick was installed. Two of the motor dories on board were placed on cars and, with another sealed box car, were ready for shipment to Mare Island. On April 4, the Navy began to strip the *Milwaukee*.⁶⁷

By April 7 a donkey had pulled the *H-3* half way across the peninsula over sand dunes and gullies. On Friday, April 20 at 11 a.m., in the presence of some one thousand people, the *H-3* was launched by a donkey engine near the site of the old Consumer's mill on Humboldt Bay, south of Samoa, just four months and five days following her stranding on the Samoa beach. The submarine disappeared from sight for a few seconds, then surfaced and was towed to a safe mooring.⁶⁸ After a cleaning out by the crew, tests were made to determine her seaworthiness. Then the *H-3* resumed her interrupted voyage to San Francisco in tow of the *Iroquois*, living, after an extensive overhaul, to fight in World War I.⁶⁹

The local newspapers announced on March 20 that the Naval Board of Inquiry, called to investigate charges directed against the conduct of Captain Lawrence Ellison of the Coast Guard station during the beaching of the *H-3* and the *Milwaukee* on the Samoa beach, had exonerated Captain Ellison and his crew of all charges, and they were praised for their excellent work. Particular praise was given to Coast Guardsman Werner Sweins who displayed remarkable courage and great personal bravery in getting a

line aboard the stranded sub.⁷⁰ Another report, which could not be verified, was that a naval court had exonerated Lieutenant F. W. Newton of the *Milwaukee* and that Commander Howe of the *Cheyenne*, ranking officer at the time of the stranding of the *Milwaukee*, was "to lose several numbers in his grade."⁷¹

All that could be salvaged from the *Milwaukee* was taken to Mare Island by train. During the salvaging operations, there was much discussion on how to save the hull of the cruiser. One plan was to build a breakwater of rock to protect the ship and then to dig a canal across the peninsula to float the cruiser to the bay. Drilling operations were even made in the sand dunes to determine whether a canal could be dug.⁷² Bids for salvaging the hull were under consideration in Washington, D.C., but nothing ever materialized. The once proud *Milwaukee*, a tourist attraction for many years, was gradually obliterated by the elements and professional and amateur shipwreckers. The final act occurred during World War II when parts of the cruiser were salvaged for scrap to help the war effort.

In 1977 an organization called the Humboldt Bay Maritime Museum Association was organized to preserve the local maritime heritage. In 1980 this active group erected a huge stone marker and plaque on the sand dunes near the highway and opposite the location of the once visible cruiser. The State of California has recognized the marker as a place of historic interest.

Every summer at minus tides, parts of the *Milwaukee's* hull can be seen sticking out of the sand. In July 1980, sixty-three years after the beaching of the cruiser, a strange incident occurred. A sandbar formed on the ocean side opposite the submerged hull, making a lagoon near the shore. A strong current dug a channel ten feet deep through the hull of the *Milwaukee*, and through a hatchway over the

engine room. And here members of the Maritime Association collected brass collars, a brass rib, brass valves, and oil-cooling coils of brass pipe for their newly acquired museum in Eureka.

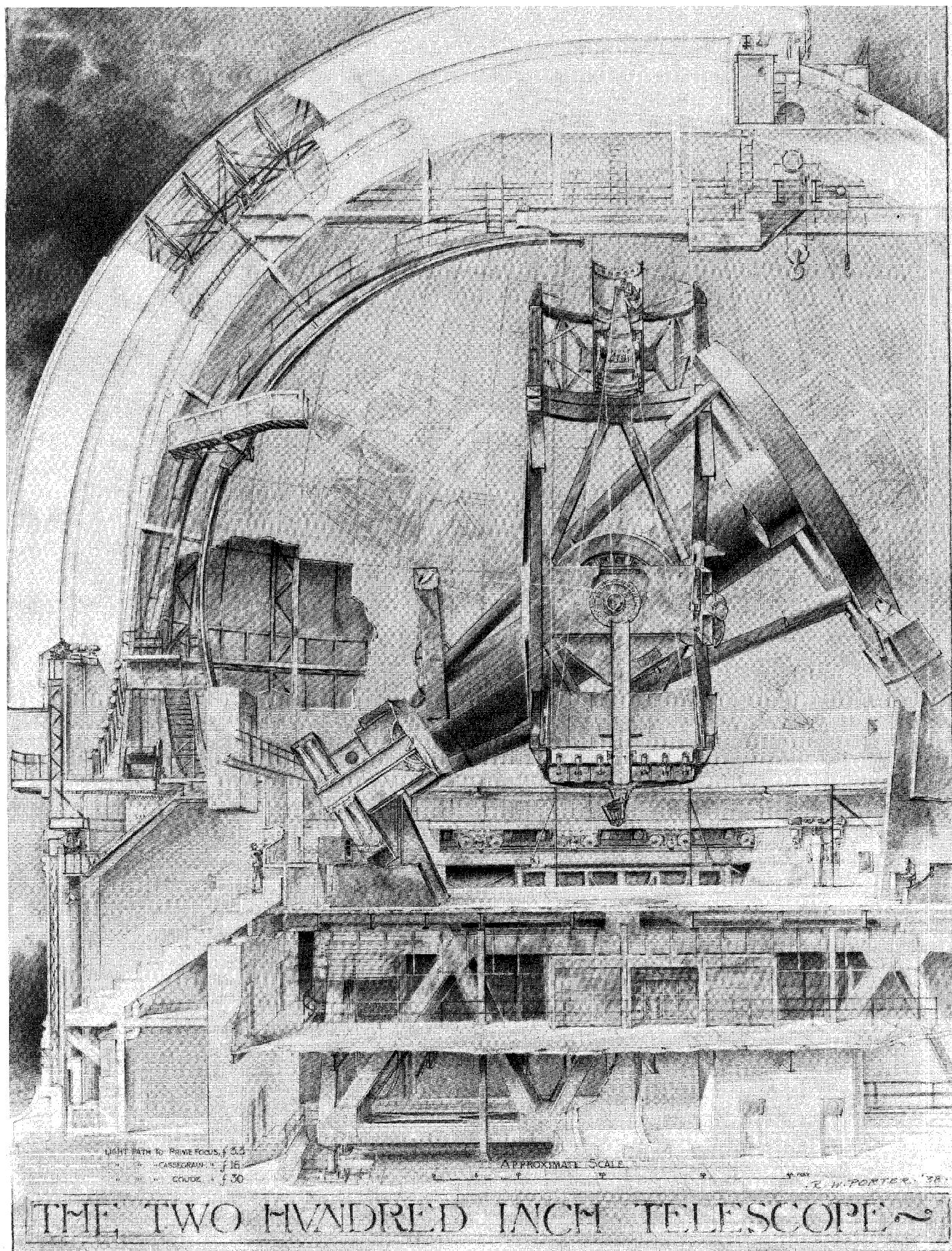
Photographs on pages 210, 211, 212, 215, 218 and 219 are courtesy of the Humboldt County Historical Society. Those on pages 216 and 222 are by Emma Freeman. The modern photographs on page 224 are courtesy of Melvin Krei.

Notes

1. Eureka *Humboldt Standard*, December 13, 1916.
2. *Ibid.* The *H-3*, which was the latest type of sub that the United States had in commission, was 150 feet long and was built in 1914. It had five hatches, her draught was 14 feet, and her surface speed was 10-12 knots. On her trial run in San Diego, the *H-3* had buried her nose in the mud January, 1915 where she lay for 24 hours. In Bremerton, before heading south, the *H-3* had also had a "slight mishap." (Eureka *Humboldt Times*, December 15, 1916).
3. Eureka *Humboldt Times*, December 14, 1916.
4. Captain Harvey Haislip, USN (Ret.), "The Valor of Inexperience," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 93, No. 2 (February, 1967), 36. Captain Harvey Haislip, USN (Ret.) graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1911. He commanded the Northern California Sector Western Sea Frontier in 1943-1944 and was Assistant Chief of Staff (Operations) of the 12th Naval District in 1945. He was the author of four historical novels, and his play, "The Long Watch," was produced on Broadway. He also wrote the narration of the Byrd Expedition, "The Secret Land," which won an Academy Award for the best full length documentary movie.
5. Evelyn McCormick, "The *H-3* Submarine," *The Humboldt Historian*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (February-March, 1979), 5-6.
6. *Humboldt Times*, December 15, 1916; *Humboldt Standard*, December 14, 1916.
7. *Humboldt Times*, December 15, 1916.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Humboldt Standard*, December 14, 1916.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Humboldt Times*, December 15, 1916.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*

Maritime Fiasco

15. *Ibid.*, December 15, 16, 1916.
16. Haislip, p. 37.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*; *Humboldt Times*, December 17, 1916.
20. *Humboldt Times*, December 18, 1916.
21. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1916; Haislip, p. 39.
22. Haislip, p. 39; *Humboldt Times*, December 22, 1916.
23. *Humboldt Times*, December 24, 1916.
24. Haislip, p. 39; *Humboldt Times*, December 30, 1916.
25. Haislip, p. 39.
26. *Humboldt Times*, January 5, 8, 1917.
27. Haislip, p. 40.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, p. 41-42.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 43-44. The local newspapers reported that the combers were from fifteen to twenty feet high.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 44; *Humboldt Times*, January 13, 1917.
36. *Humboldt Times*, January 10, 1917.
37. Haislip, p. 45.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47; *Humboldt Times*, January 14, 1917.
44. Haislip, p. 47; *Humboldt Times*, January 13, 1917.
45. Haislip, p. 48.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Humboldt Times*, January 14, 1917.
48. Haislip, p. 48.
49. *Ibid.*; *Humboldt Times*, January 14, 1917.
50. Haislip, p. 49. After three trips the first boat launched was put out of commission, and two men were slightly hurt when the boat hit some driftwood. Another boat was launched from the *Milwaukee*, and the work went on (*Humboldt Times*, January 14, 1917).
51. Haislip, p. 49.
52. Arthur L. Brickley, "The U.S.S. *Milwaukee* Story," Speech, Humboldt County Historical Society, April 17, 1963. Brickley was a crew member of the *Milwaukee* and one of the five men ordered to remove the money. The local *Humboldt Standard* reported that \$90,000 was on board the cruiser. On Sunday, January 14, 1917, it was estimated that between 6,000 and 7,000 people visited the Samoa beach. The launches from the Coggs Hall Launch and Towboat Company ferried people across the bay every fifteen minutes (*Humboldt Standard*, January 15, 1917).
53. *Humboldt Standard*, January 16, 1917.
54. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1917.
55. *Ibid.*, January 18, 24, 1917, March 2, 1917.
56. *Ibid.*, January 20, February 7, 13, March 8, 1917.
57. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1917.
58. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1917.
59. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1917.
60. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1917.
61. *Ibid.*, February 14, March 2, 1917.
62. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1917.
63. *Humboldt Times*, March 30, 1917.
64. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1917.
65. Haislip, p. 49.
66. *Humboldt Standard*, March 13, 1917.
67. *Humboldt Times*, April 2, April 4, 1917.
68. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1917.
69. Haislip, p. 49.
70. *Humboldt Times*, March 20, 1917.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Humboldt Standard*, February 13, 19, 1917.



LIGHT PATH TO PRIME FOCUS, f 5.5
CASSEGRAIN, f 16
COUDE, f 30

APPROXIMATE SCALE

J. W. PORTER '38

THE TWO HUNDRED INCH TELESCOPE

Science and Caltech in the Turbulent Thirties

Caltech is a young school. Although its roots were planted by Amos G. Throop in 1891, the modern California Institute of Technology was born soon after the close of World War I. Between 1919 and 1921, the school obtained a handsome endowment, drafted a new educational philosophy, changed its name, and selected a new man to guide its destiny for the next twenty-five years.¹ In 1920, ten years after the school had moved from downtown Pasadena to its present location, the campus still had a new-born look. The population consisted of 9 graduate students, 359 undergraduates, and a faculty of 60.

By the early thirties, the face of the campus had begun to fill out. The number of new buildings had tripled. In addition to several additional units for physics, there were new laboratories for astrophysics, aeronautics, and nuclear physics. The machine shop for a 200-inch telescope project was completed and working; the optical shop was awaiting the arrival of the 200-inch disk. There were dormitories for the undergraduates and a faculty club for the staff. The campus population had climbed to 138 graduate students (fifteen times as many as ten years before), 510 undergraduates, and a faculty of 180.

The numbers themselves only tell part of the story. So far as the undergraduate enrollment was concerned, the trustees, in 1921, had limited the freshman class to 160 students. During the thirties, the freshman class never exceeded this number. By the end of the decade, the undergraduate population stood at 606.²

There was no official ceiling on the number of graduate students admitted to Caltech during the thirties and before. The school initially offered graduate work leading to a doctorate in physics, chemistry, and engineering. Physics was king from the very beginning. It had more students, more faculty, and more money. Geology joined the list of graduate studies in 1925, aeronautics in 1926; biology and mathematics in 1928. Physics still had more students and faculty, and this is the way it stayed throughout the thirties. Robert A. Millikan, the head of the physics department, was also head of the school. In 1932 the physics staff included a visiting physicist from Berlin, Albert Einstein, and J. Robert Oppenheimer, a recent addition to the faculty.

Physics was Robert Millikan's world. In his memoirs, Millikan described how he became interested in it. At the end of his sophomore year at Oberlin, his Greek professor asked him to teach the elementary physics course the following year. When Millikan replied that he didn't know any physics, his professor's answer was, "Anyone who can do well in my Greek can teach physics."³

Millikan was fifty-three when he came to Caltech

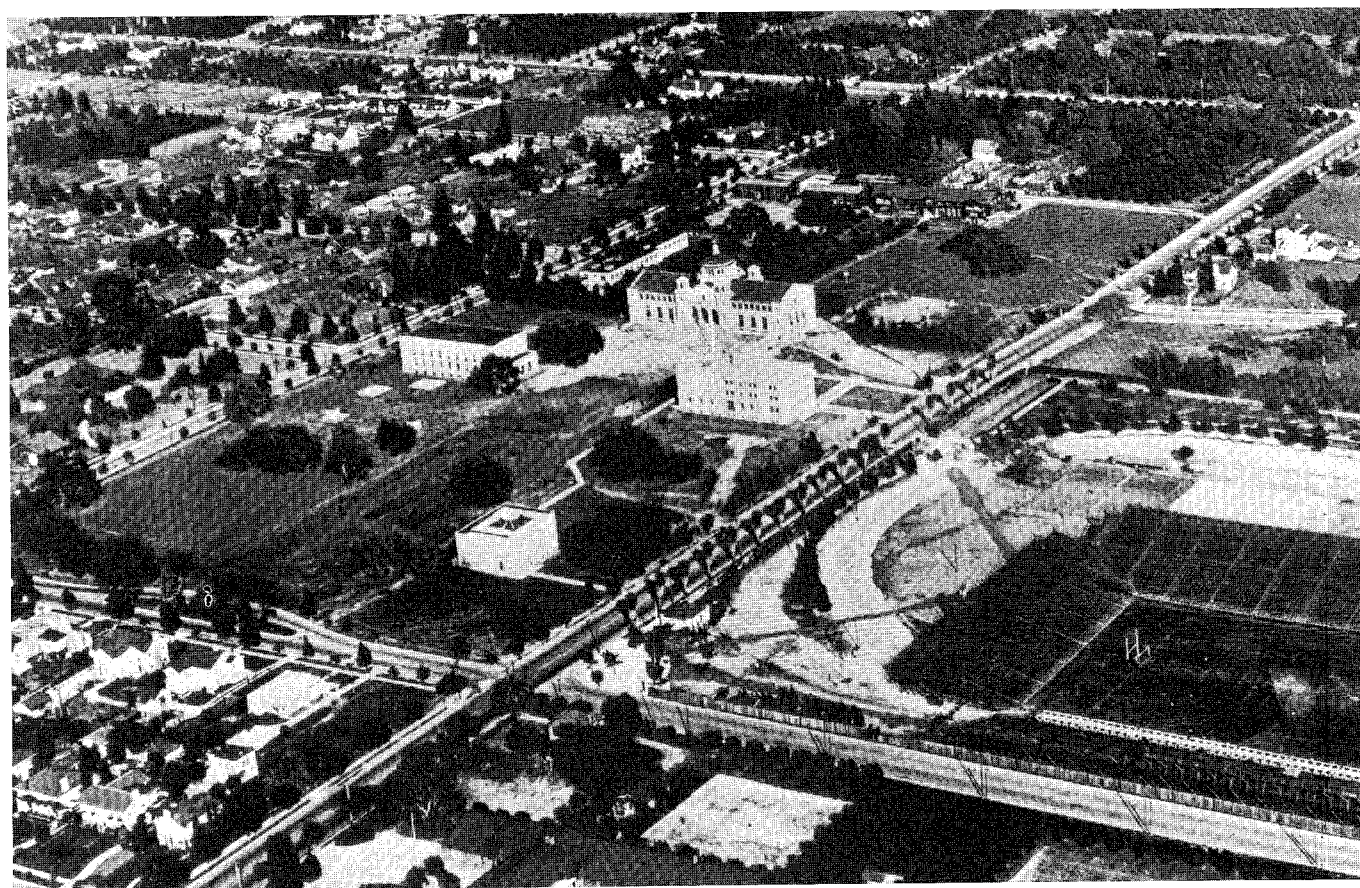
Judith Goodstein is Institute Archivist at the California Institute of Technology. Her research interests focus on the nineteenth and twentieth century physical sciences, especially the origins of modern chemistry and the history of Italian science under Fascism. She received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Washington in 1969 and has since written and lectured extensively on the history of science. She is currently writing a history of Caltech with the aid of a research grant from the Haynes Foundation. This article is adapted from her Watson Lecture given in Beckman Auditorium at Caltech in January, 1980.

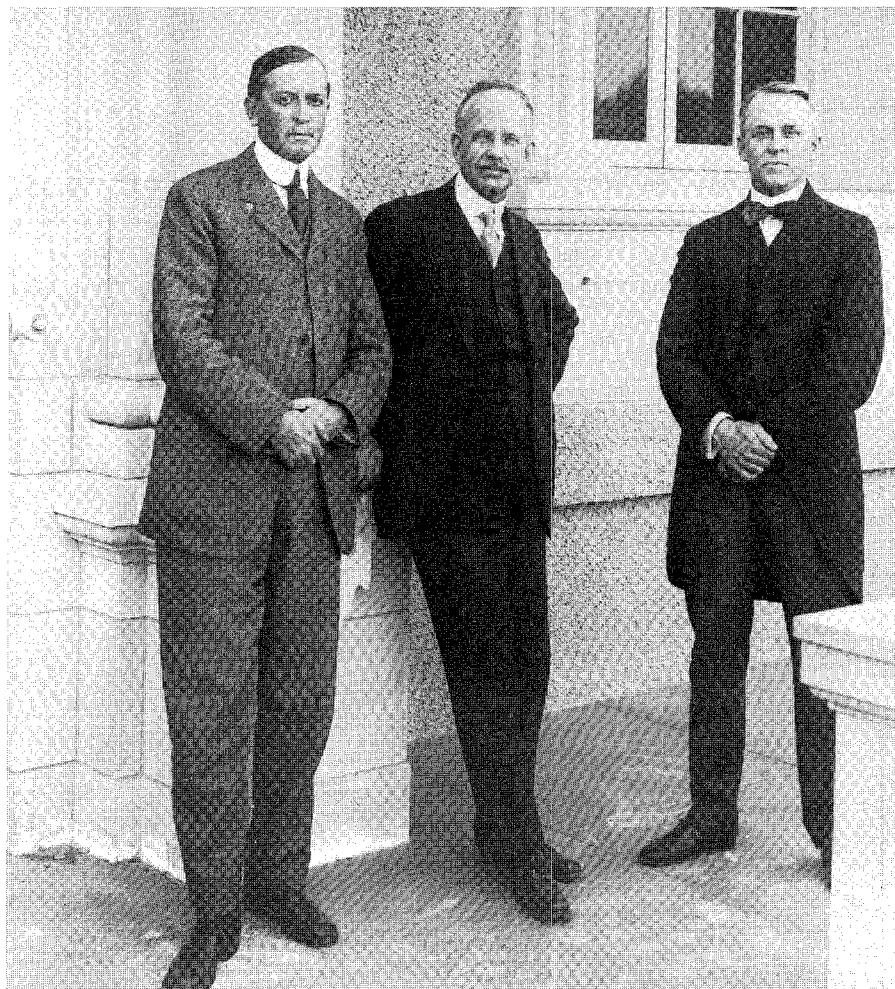
A 1938 drawing of one of Caltech's most famous projects – the 200-inch telescope.

in 1921. By then, he had piled up an impressive track record as an experimentalist. Behind him lay the measurement of the charge on the electron, the verification of Einstein's photoelectric equations, and the numerical determination of Planck's constant. He drove a hard bargain with Caltech's presidential search committee, which consisted of astronomer George Ellery Hale and chemist Arthur Amos Noyes. Hale and Noyes wanted to use Caltech to reshape the education of scientists; Millikan wanted, in his own words, "to put physics on the map" in southern California.⁴ To do that, he needed research funds. The three men came to an agreement. Hale and Noyes promised Millikan the lion's share of the school's financial resources and minimal administrative duties as head of the Institute. In

return, Millikan agreed to come, as director of the Norman Bridge Laboratory of Physics, and chairman of the executive council of the Institute. (Strictly speaking, Millikan never served as president.)

The negotiations with Millikan did not affect Hale directly. Hale neither taught nor had graduate students at Caltech. As director of the Mt. Wilson observatory, his research funds were provided by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Noyes, on the other hand, gave up his promised share of Institute funds with which to expand the chemistry division. A physical chemist primarily, Noyes adored three things: chemistry, his beach house at Corona del Mar, and touring cars. His 1917 Cadillac was named by his students, "Old Mossie," after Demosthenes,

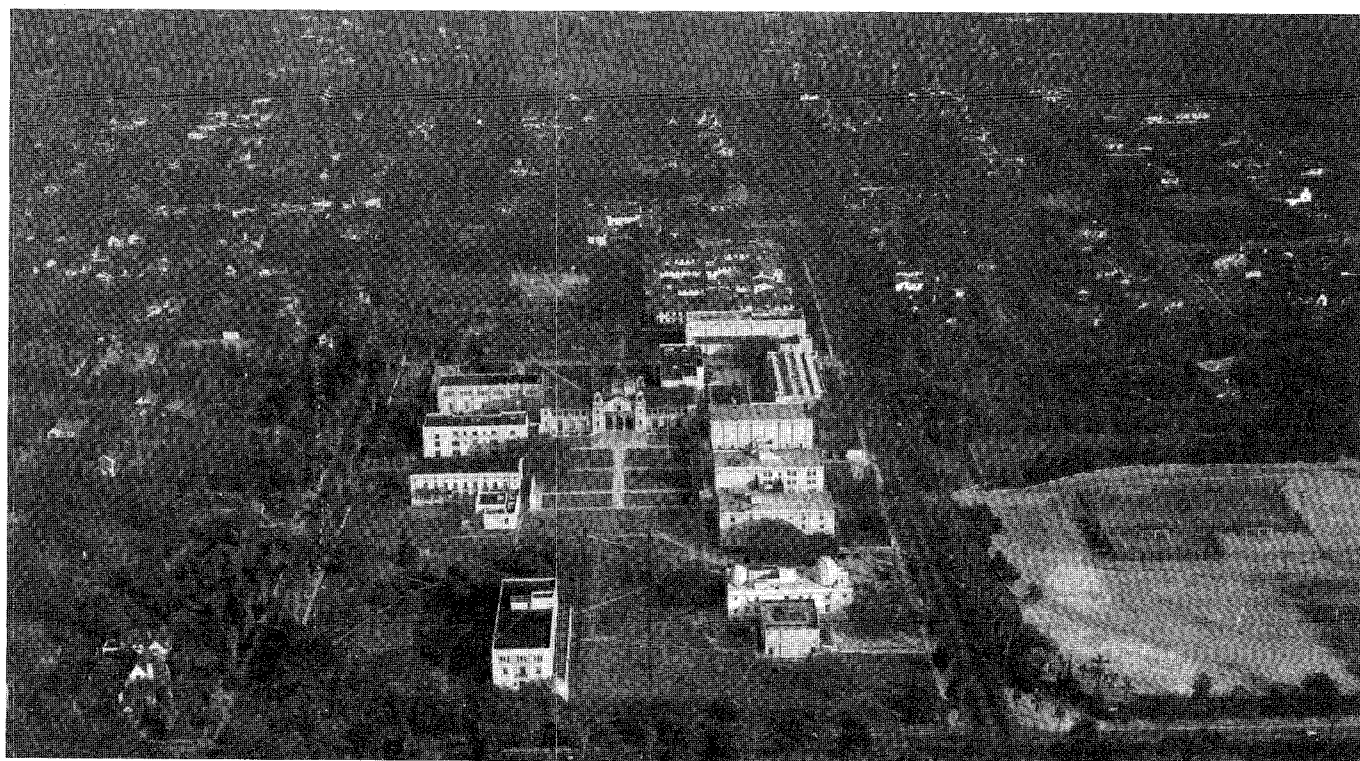


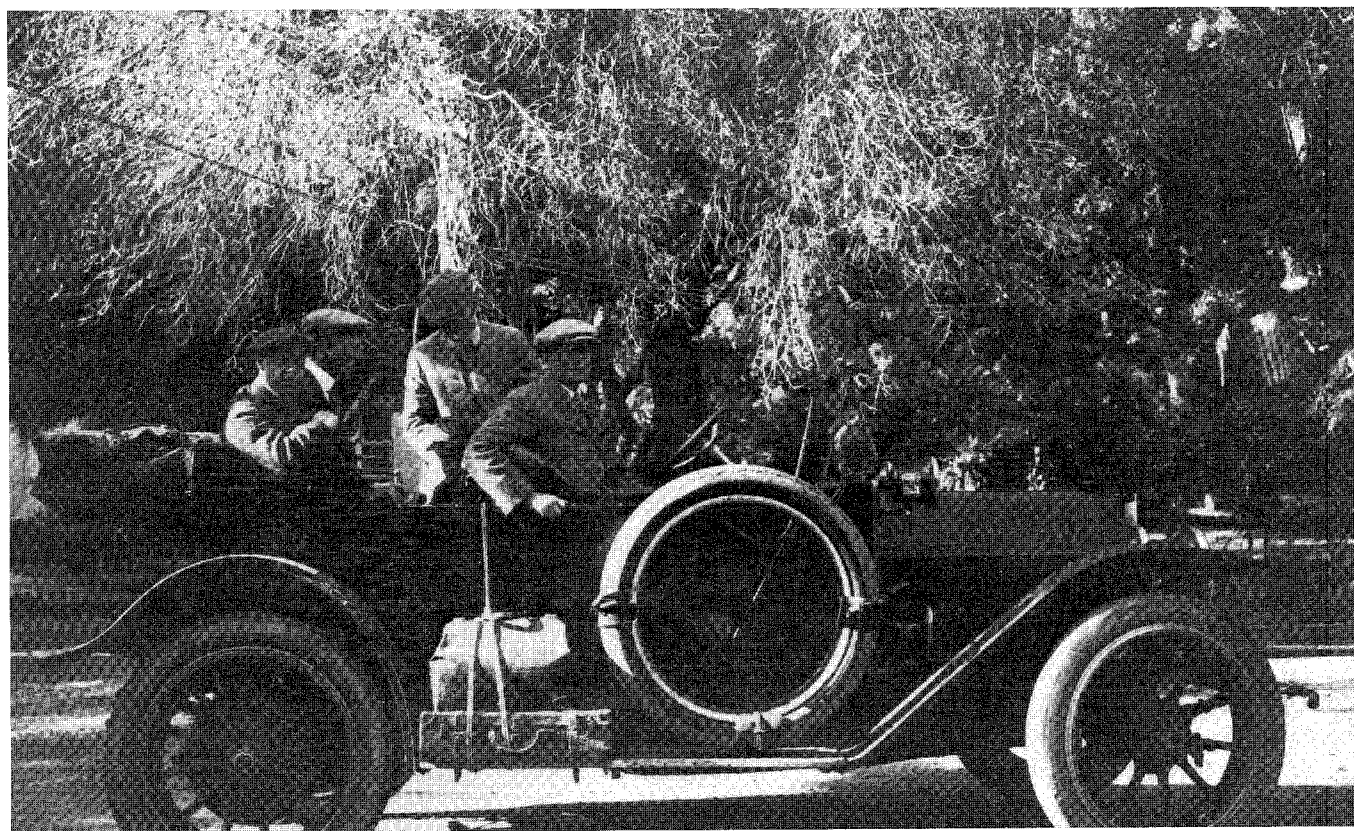


The only known photograph ever taken of the three men on the Caltech campus: R.A. Millikan (right), G. E. Hale (center) and A. A. Noyes. A campus was christened them "thinker, tinker and stinker."

OPPOSITE: An aerial view of the 1922 campus. It consisted of 22 acres and four permanent buildings: Throop Hall, for engineering; Gates (left) for chemistry; East Bridge (right) for physics; and Culbertson (foreground) for an auditorium.

The 30-acre Caltech campus, c. 1933, reflects the plans drawn up by Bertram B. Goodhue in 1920.





in honor of its chronic stutter. Old Mossie was believed by Noyes's students "to hold the world's record for the standing broad jump because Noyes would so often absent-mindedly try to start off in high gear."⁵

Physics, in any event, grew at the expense of chemistry and engineering during the twenties. Millikan initiated a visiting scholars program shortly after his arrival in Pasadena. The list of scientists who accepted Millikan's invitation represented the cream of European physics, including Bohr, Dirac, Ehrenfest, Lorentz, and Sommerfeld. Albert Einstein's visits to the campus in 1931, 1932, and 1933 capped Millikan's campaign to make Caltech one of the physics capitals of the world. If nothing else, Einstein's visits made the point most dramatically that the Caltech Hale, Noyes, and Millikan had set out to build in the twenties had come of age in the thirties.

Millikan liked to say that even if Einstein had never published a word on relativity, his other theoretical researches would have won him an enduring place in the history of ideas. But, it was, in

fact, the cosmological implications growing out of the theory of relativity that brought Einstein to the campus. Einstein had spent eight years transforming his ideas on the electrodynamics of moving bodies into the more comprehensive general theory of relativity. He began toying with the problem of incorporating gravitation into the special theory in 1907, and in 1916 published the fundamental paper on the theory of general relativity — which made a number of predictions. In 1919, two astronomical expeditions independently detected the bending of a ray of light in the vicinity of the sun during an eclipse. The confirmation of this particular prediction, almost single-handedly, turned Einstein, the theoretical physicist, into a twentieth century folk hero.⁶

Einstein came to California in the early thirties specifically to consult with scientists at the California Institute of Technology. Few members of the general public understood the nature of his visits, but they idolized him all the same. His reception in California was one part show business, one part hero worship, and one part genuine affection.

Will Rogers, the noted humorist, described the

Noyes at the wheel of "Old Mossie," his early vintage Cadillac, with other members of the chemistry faculty, 1917.

whole sideshow when he said, just after Einstein returned to Berlin in March of 1931:

The radios, the banquet tables and the weeklies will never be the same. He came here for a rest and seclusion. He ate with everybody, talked with everybody, posed for everybody that had any film left, attended every luncheon, every dinner, every movie opening, every marriage and two-thirds of the divorces. In fact, he made himself such a good fellow that nobody had the nerve to ask him what his theory was.⁷

"What his theory was," was the prime reason for his visits, however. As early as 1913, Einstein had begun looking for experimental verification for the correctness of his theory of general relativity. He wrote to Hale from Zurich, asking him to make an astronomical measurement.⁸ He was anxious to know if Hale could detect the influence of the sun's gravitation field upon a light ray. Hale replied that in order to try he needed a solar eclipse. The experiment was finally carried out in 1919 by two British expedition teams and again in 1922 by an American team of astronomers—and it did confirm the theory of general relativity. The cosmological implications of Einstein's general theory attracted a lot of attention in the 1920s and 1930s, especially at Caltech.

Richard Tolman, at the time, was Caltech's relativity expert. Tolman's scientific interests were varied, but the main thrust of his work at the Institute included statistical mechanics, relativistic thermodynamics, and cosmology. He had come to Caltech in 1922. Seven years later, the Mt. Wilson astronomer, Edwin Hubble, made the discovery that redshifts are proportional to distance. Spurred on by Hubble's discovery, Tolman undertook a series of studies in the 1930s on the application of the general theory of relativity to the overall structure and evolution of the universe.

Hubble's discovery challenged Einstein's cosmological picture of a static universe. The big question at Caltech in 1931 was whether Einstein would give up his cosmological constant and accept the idea of a dynamical universe. Einstein discussed his theory and its interpretation at length with Tolman, Hubble, and the other scientists on the campus. While in Pasadena, he remained silent on the subject. But five months later, Einstein wrote to Millikan from Berlin that "further thought regarding Hubble's observations have proved that the phenomena adapts itself [sic] very well to the theory of relativity."⁹ Within a matter of months, Einstein publicly adopted the expanding universe model.

While Einstein was a visitor in southern California, there were many dinners given in his honor. At one, Tolman served as toastmaster for the evening. The text of his remarks came to light several years ago, and it recaptures the atmosphere of Caltech fifty years ago. In his opening remarks, he said:

Fellow Scientists: First of all I should like to explain to you the reason why I happen to be toastmaster this evening. Three weeks ago today in the late afternoon I was strolling back and forth on the Institute Campus, buried in meditation, trying to find a solution for the terrible problem of the increase in entropy that appears to be taking place everywhere throughout the universe. Just at the moment when it seemed as if I were about to get a solution for the problem, my walk was suddenly interrupted by Dr. Millikan.

"Tolman," he said. "Yes, Professor Millikan," I replied — Dr. Millikan is an older man than I am and he always speaks to me in that informal way. He just calls me Tolman. But I am a younger man than he is, so I always reply, "Yes, Sir." "Yes, Professor Millikan."

"Tolman," he said, "I think it would be a good plan if we had a dinner at which the members of the scientific staff of the Institute and neighboring institutions could meet Professor Einstein." "Dr. Millikan," I replied, "I think that would be very fine for the staff members but

Richard Chace Tolman held full professorships in physical chemistry and mathematical physics. During World War II he served as scientific advisor to General Groves on the Manhattan Project.



pretty hard on Dr. Einstein. I am sure that in the course of his life he has had to attend so many dinners in his honour that he never wants to look another filet mignon in the face. I therefore recommend strongly *against* such a dinner."

Two weeks ago today, I was again strolling back and forth on the campus, and had again nearly reached a solution of the problem of entropy, and was again interrupted by Dr. Millikan. "Tolman," he said, "I have been thinking about *your* suggestion that we ought to have a staff dinner in honour of Dr. Einstein, and I believe we ought to have a number of speeches at the dinner by staff members." Dr. Millikan," I replied, "I think that would be fine for the speakers but very hard on Dr. Einstein and the other listeners. I therefore recommend strongly *against* any speeches."

One week ago today, I was again strolling back and forth on the campus, and had again nearly reached a solution of the problem of entropy, and was again interrupted by Dr. Millikan. "Tolman," he said, "I have been thinking about *your* suggestion that we ought to have speeches at the staff dinner in honour of Dr. Einstein. Here is the list of speakers and I have decided to appoint you the toastmaster."

That, Fellow Scientists, is the reason why I am

toastmaster tonight and the reason why the problem of the entropy of the universe still remains unsolved.¹⁰

In their spare time, the Einsteins did a little touring, visiting places like Santa Barbara and Palm Springs. The movie cameras, like the reporters, were never far away. Amateur and professional filmmakers alike tried to capture the private side of the man. Occasionally, the camera recorded Einstein doing what he liked to do best, physics. In one film, as the girls and boys crowd around him to have their picture taken, Einstein trains his eye on one particular head. The long curls on the girl's head are his undoing. He pulls one. "You see," he tells his admiring audience, "even pretty curls obey Hooke's Law."¹¹

Charles Richter, Caltech professor emeritus of seismology, tells a marvelous story about Einstein. It concerns the Long Beach earthquake, which occurred in March 1933. Einstein and Beno Gutenberg, professor of geophysics, were walking just then towards the Athenaeum, talking mostly about Gutenberg's studies of earthquakes. The two scientists were so involved in their conversation, they

failed to notice that they were in the midst of one. When a colleague came up to them and asked, “Well, what do you think of the earthquake?” their response was, “What earthquake?”¹²

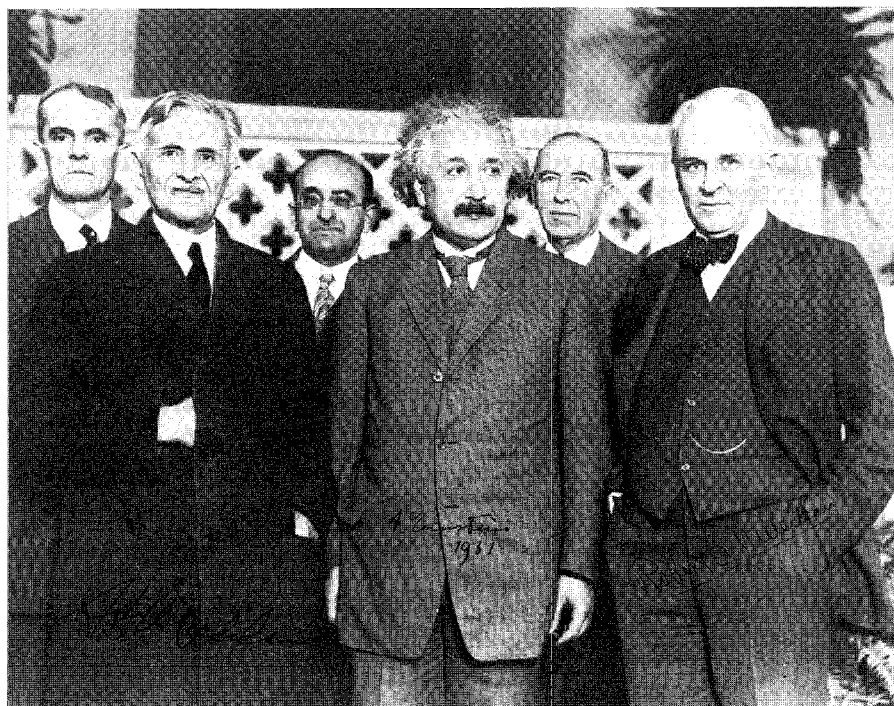
There was never any intention on Millikan’s part of Einstein staying permanently at the Institute. There weren’t any funds for a permanent position. Of course, Millikan used Einstein’s visits for publicity purposes very effectively. He also went to great lengths to screen the Einsteins’ social engagements. Millikan’s greatest fear was that Einstein’s public talks on non-scientific issues would cost the Institute needed donations. Einstein resented this, but took it in stride.¹³

An Einstein and Millikan story was told some years ago by Earnest Watson, another member of the Caltech faculty. At one of the many Athenaeum

dinners for Einstein, the woman who was sitting by his side kept pressing him to accept a dinner invitation. “Well,” Einstein said, “I can’t come at that time . . . [as] I’ve arranged to go up on Mt. Wilson.” To which his dinner companion replied, “Perhaps it will rain; then you couldn’t go to Mt. Wilson.” Einstein smiled, “Oh no, it won’t rain; Millikan has arranged it.”¹⁴

Next to Einstein, Millikan during his lifetime was undoubtedly this country’s most public figure in science. When Millikan spoke, the country listened.

How well informed the public was about Caltech in the thirties is indicated by a story about Millikan recently related by Carl Anderson, Nobel Laureate and Board of Trustees Professor of Physics Emeritus. Anderson, who discovered the positron in 1932 in the course of his cosmic ray researches,



Three Nobel Laureates in front of the Athenaeum: A. A. Michelson (left), R. A. Millikan (right) and A. Einstein (center), 1931. Michelson, then 78, was gearing up for a new and refined measurement of the speed of light at the Irvine Ranch.



Russell W. Porter at his drawing board in Pasadena, c. 1935. Below is a Porter sketch made at Big Bear Lake in 1929. Big Bear Lake was one of many sites surveyed for the 200-inch telescope.





Standing at the top of Mt. Wilson's solar telescope in January 1931 are: Walther Mayer (left) assistant to Albert Einstein (right) and Charles E. St. John (center) astrophysicist at Mt. Wilson.

spent four years as a Caltech physics undergraduate, stayed on as a graduate student of Millikan's, and subsequently earned his Ph.D. at the Institute. Anderson was on a train going to a physics meeting, and he got into a conversation with another passenger in the club car. The fellow asked what he did. Anderson said he was a professor. He asked, "Where?" and Anderson said, "At Caltech." "Oh, is that part of UCLA or is it part of USC or what is Caltech?" "No, it's an independent college; it has nothing to do with SC or UCLA," replied Anderson. Then Millikan's name was mentioned and the fellow exclaimed, "Oh, you mean Millikan's school!"¹⁵

The focus of scientific research at the Institute under Millikan during the thirties ranged from drosophila genetics and the biochemistry of vitamins in biology, to the theory of turbulence and airplane wing design in aeronautics; from cancer therapy with radiation and the radioactivity of the light elements in nuclear physics, to soil erosion and the transmission of water from the Colorado River to Los Angeles in engineering; from the application of quantum mechanics to molecular structure in chemistry, to the introduction of the magnitude scale in seismology.

The Institute's project to build a 200-inch telescope was in a class by itself. The embryonic idea which grew into the world's largest telescope began shortly after the 100-inch telescope on Mt. Wilson went into operation. In 1919, astronomer Francis G. Pease used the new telescope to photograph the moon. Flushed with success, Pease and George E. Hale, the director of the Mt. Wilson Observatory, began to dream of a still larger telescope. Pease even designed a 300-inch reflecting telescope. When the editor of *Harper's Magazine* asked Hale, in 1927, to write a popular astronomy piece for its readers, Hale deliberately wrote an article on large telescopes.¹⁶ Hale asked the editor at *Harper's* to send a pre-publication copy of "The Possibilities of Large Telescopes" to Wickliffe Rose at the Rockefeller Foundation. Then, Hale wrote to Rose. In his letter, he asked Rose if the Foundation would finance a study project to determine how large a telescope mirror it would be feasible to cast.¹⁷ Rose invited Hale to come east for a talk. When Hale called on Rose in New York, in March 1928, Rose began the conversation by asking point blank, "Do you want a 200-inch or a 300-inch?"¹⁸ Hale chose the 200-inch and immediately drafted a proposal; Millikan and Noyes approved it. Several months later, the Inter-

national Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation gave the green light to Hale's \$6,000,000 proposal.

In the fall of 1928, an Observatory Council, with Hale as chairman, was formed to direct the planning, construction, and operation of the 200-inch telescope. Hale personally assembled the team of scientists and engineers to create the world's largest telescope. He picked John Anderson, a Mt. Wilson astronomer as executive officer. Hale then sent Anderson and Pease to Springfield, Vermont, to talk to Russell W. Porter. Porter was an arctic explorer, artist, and telescope maker. He designed and built his own observatory and telescope and published many articles on the subject. Anderson and Pease came away from their meeting with Porter convinced he should be invited to join the telescope project. Several weeks later, Porter received a telegram from Hale, "Can you come to Pasadena for several months to assist in designing two hundred inch telescope and instrument shop auxiliary instruments?"¹⁹

The two months became two decades. Porter arrived in Pasadena on December 1, 1928. He was given the title of associate in optics and instrument design. His first task was to design a small telescope to be used for the site survey for the 200-inch telescope. A dozen such telescopes were made and used for testing sites throughout the southwest United States in 1929 and 1930. Porter made sketches of all the sites he personally visited and in all, made over a thousand sketches and detailed pencil drawings relating to the project. Palomar Mountain was selected in 1934 as the site of the 200-inch telescope, and the dome and the building housing the great telescope were designed by Porter.²⁰

The Rockefeller grant also provided for three new buildings on the campus. Porter completed the plans for the astrophysics laboratory first, then turned his

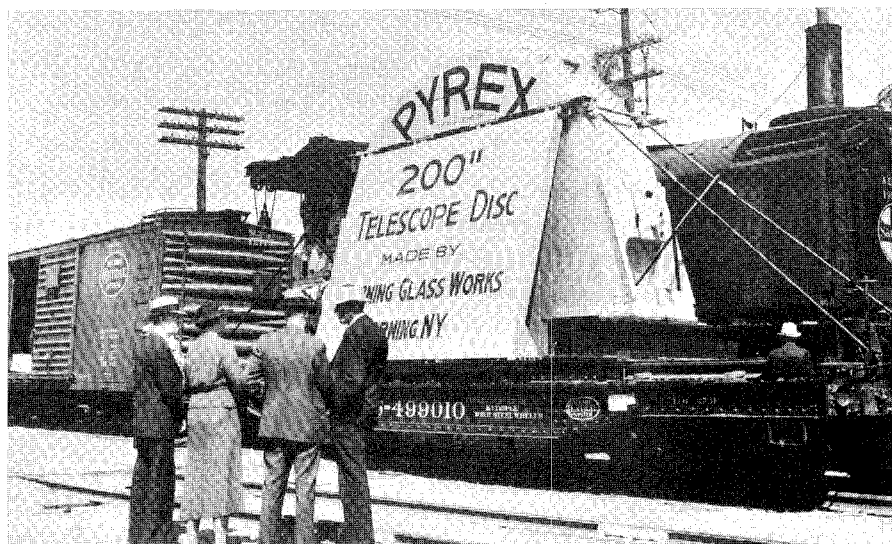
attention to the machine shop and the optical shop. By the summer of 1933 all the buildings were in operation.

Meanwhile, Hale, in 1929, had also commissioned Elihu Thomson and his associates at the General Electric Company to make large mirror disks of fused silica. They spent more than two years trying and failed. By the end of 1931, Hale decided to try somewhere else. He asked Corning Glass Works to produce a series of Pyrex mirrors — from a 30-inch to a 60-inch to a 120-inch, and finally to a 200-inch. Weight was a major obstacle; it was estimated that a solid Pyrex disk 200 inches in diameter would weigh more than 40 tons.²¹

Francis Pease designed a ribbed disk that would cut the weight while preserving the necessary stiffness. Viewed from the back, the glass disk was somewhat similar in design to a waffle iron.

By June 1932, Corning had made and sent to Pasadena a ribbed-back disk 30 inches in diameter. Following a series of tests in Pasadena, a 60-inch ribbed disk was successfully cast, then the 120-inch, after which preparations for the 200-inch disk began.

A beehive oven was used to heat the 200-inch disk during the casting operation at Corning. Actually, two 200-inch disks were cast. The second 200-inch disk was cast on December 2, 1934. Pouring the molten glass into the mold took seven hours; the disk was then sealed in the annealer where it remained for many months.²² In January, 1936, final plans for transporting the disk to Pasadena were made. It was wrapped in a carpet of felt, cushioned with sponge rubber, and then placed in a steel-plated crate. The crate was then bolted upright in a well-type freight car, built for the transcontinental trip by the New York Central Railroad.²³ It started its journey west on the morning of March 26, 1936, and the train pulled into Pasadena on April 10. The



The 200-inch disk upon its arrival in Pasadena on April 10, 1936. Scores of people watched the train pull in, including astronomer Edwin Hubble, far right.

disk was then hauled to the optical shop at Caltech.

Millikan had an impressive network of industrial, financial, academic, and government connections. Without them, Caltech could not have survived the 1929 stock market crash and the great depression that settled over America in the thirties.

In spite of the failure in 1930 of a large trust, Millikan balanced the budget and found the money, besides, to support special research projects.

The faculty met Millikan halfway. They voted to take a ten percent cut in salary in 1932. Millikan was counting on this gesture to meet half of the school's deficit.²⁴

During the depression years, Millikan, Hale, and Noyes personally met a small portion of Caltech's deficit. For a time, Hale and several Trustees of the Institute supported Linus Pauling's chemical research. To make up the balance of the deficit, which in 1932, approached \$80,000, Millikan spoke to several key friends of the Institute. Each friend had already pledged money for a particular building. Millikan asked if the income from these funds could be diverted to the meeting of Caltech's current expenses. The donors agreed.²⁵ Aside from the 200-inch project, building construction on the campus came to a halt. It resumed with gusto in 1937. The Arms and Mudd Laboratories of the Geological Sciences began to take form to the west of the astrophysics building. Across the cypress-flanked Mall, behind Gates, the excavation for the Crellin Laboratory of chemistry and the second unit of

Kerckhoff Laboratory of biology also began.

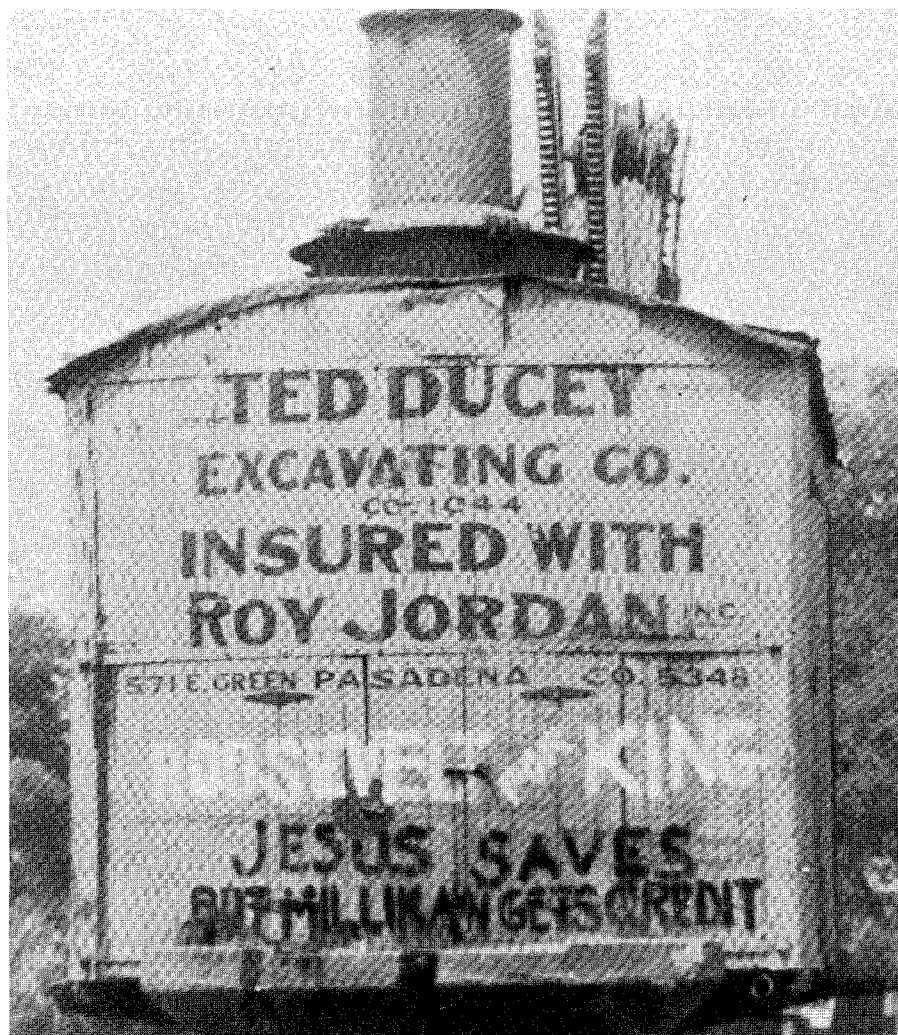
Millikan consulted his faculty less and less during the thirties. If they complained about this (and some did), they nevertheless recognized Millikan's genius as a money-raiser for the Institute.

So did the students. An anonymous Caltech graffiti artist added his message to others on the steam shovel several days after it arrived on the campus to begin excavations for Crellin. Underneath "Roosevelt For King" and "Jesus Saves," the student wrote: "But Millikan Gets Credit."

There are less generous interpretations. Former Caltech students recall that some people understood the "Millikan Gets Credit" sign on the steam shovel to mean that Millikan took too much credit.²⁶ Either way, the students often have the last word at Caltech.

Caltech drew most of its undergraduates from neighboring communities. Although we don't think of it today as a commuter college, Caltech could only accommodate a small fraction of its all-male student body prior to the construction of four student houses in 1931.

Student life changed dramatically when the new dormitories opened. For the first time in Caltech's history, the majority of undergraduates were living together on campus. What has come down from the thirties are records of various faculty and administrative committees set up to deal with student matters: manuals of etiquette, letters of irate parents, and a host of other written and visual documents — which



Caltech students added their own bit of graffiti to this steam shovel excavating for the Crellin Laboratory of Chemistry.

taken together, suggest that the Caltech student of fifty years ago enjoyed taking on the campus authorities.

For one thing, the students were great petition writers. When Millikan in the early thirties announced that tuition rates were going up, the students immediately circulated a petition denouncing the action. On that one Millikan had the last say. When a student waiter was suspended by the dormitory housekeeper for failing to show up for his duties, the other student waiters petitioned the administration; they threatened to walk off the job as well. The housekeeper capitulated.²⁷

With the coming of student houses came the Faculty Committee on Campus Life and Interests, and their rules. The preamble to the original student house by-laws begins: "Ideally, each house should

be a mature, self-governing community." Having pointed this out, the committee then set about the task of helping the Caltech student achieve his civic potential. After sober reflection and deliberation, the school's elders settled on fourteen commandments of Caltech student life. Among them were:

"There shall be no willful destruction or defacing of property in the Houses."

"There shall be no firecrackers in the Houses."

"Students shall keep off the roof."

"There will be no water fights inside the House."

"During vacations, none of the above rules is suspended."²⁸

The students listened, but they didn't always heed. One friendly fight in Fleming and Dabney Houses began on the afternoon of February 20, 1935, and continued in an amicable way into the

evening. The next morning, the damages were tallied up. Fleming House needed one new teak door and some new roof tiles, and the water in the hall needed immediate attention. Over in Dabney, there were a couple of broken windows, a broken broom, door bolt and chain, and possibly the court walls needed refinishing. The damage to both houses was about \$300, the annual tuition fee for undergraduate students in those days.²⁹

Millikan promptly called a meeting of his Executive Council. Millikan was famous for doing most of the talking at these meetings. He would present an issue, think it through for the whole group, and then dismiss everyone with the statement, "Well, gentlemen, I'm glad to see you all agree with me." On such occasions, Millikan's favorite expression was "All right-thinking men must agree with me."³⁰

Now Millikan decided that what Caltech needed was a faculty committee on student houses. A committee was formed on the spot. The students, understanding the power structure at Caltech, promptly sent a new petition to Millikan about the food situation in the student houses. The petition criticized the planning and preparation of meals. "For \$1.17 per day, which is what we pay for food in the Student Houses," the students wrote, "one can eat better food in similar quantities in profit-making establishments."

The students made a number of meal recommendations. Breakfasts, they noted, should include bacon and eggs, not bacon one day and eggs the next. The scrambled eggs were too watery and often required draining. Fleming House in particular voted down stewed apricots and prunes. Complaints about meats and vegetables tied for second place. The bean, hot dog, and brown bread meal was very unpopular. Other universally unpopular foods included brussel sprouts, pineapple pie, and soggy

cake with fruit topping.³¹

Food also figured in festivities before the football game with Occidental. As part of the Pajamarino preceding the game, the students had a food free-for-all in the dining room. Caltech's elders took a dim view of this practice, and asked the resident associates in the houses to explain their charges' behavior. The resident associate of Dabney House, Donald Clark, a Caltech man himself, hastened to place the campus tradition in perspective. "... We must remember that we are dealing with young men who are filled with enthusiasm and particularly at this time with spirit in anticipation of the Pajamarino," he wrote the dean of students. "None of us would care to see this enthusiasm and spirit completely subdued."³²

Clark did allow, in his letter, that no resident associate had ever attended one of these Pajamarino dinners. He had it on good authority, however, that the food caused no permanent disfigurement to the walls, ceilings, or furniture. Needless to say, on Pajamarino nights, the kitchen prepared less food. And of course, all the students came to dinner dressed in pajamas.

The Caltech students also became Caltech scientists. Roscoe Dickinson was Caltech's very first Ph.D., earning his degree in 1920. Noyes hired him on the spot as a member of the chemistry staff. By 1930, Dickinson had risen to the rank of associate professor. His four younger chemistry colleagues — Badger, Beckman, Swift, and Yost — were all Caltech Ph.D.s. Physics appointments followed the same pattern.

Millikan and Noyes systematically tapped their own students from the 1920s on. By 1930, Bridge laboratory was ranked as the leading producer of important physics papers in the country. "This productivity," explained Caltech's leaders, reflected the efforts of the younger faculty and "every [younger]

member of the physics department has been essentially grown on the spot. . . ."³³

If we look back today at the thirties and ask the question: What was it that propelled Caltech into greatness, the answer is, its own students.

All the photographs are from the Caltech Archive collections.

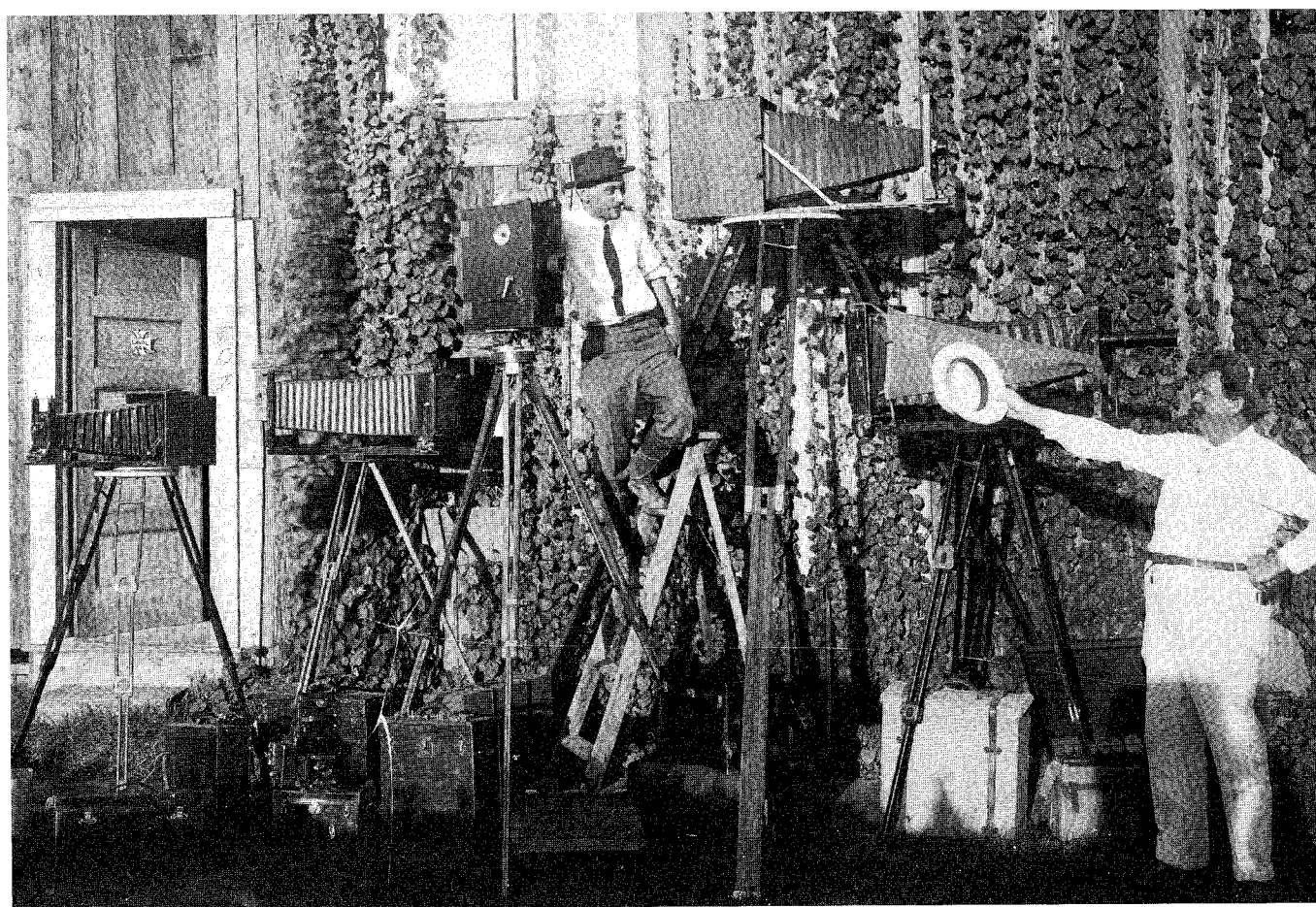
Notes

1. A general history of Caltech does not exist. The pre-Caltech period, 1891-1920, is covered in a series of articles by Irma W. Buwalda, "The Roots of the California Institute of Technology," *Engineering and Science*, XXX (October, 1966): 8-12; (November, 1966): 20-26; (December, 1966): 18-23. The best contemporary account of the school in the thirties is "California Institute of Technology," *Fortune*, VI (July, 1932): 18-31, 88-101.
2. Enrollment figures, faculty lists, and courses are summarized in the quarterly issues of the *Bulletin of the California Institute of Technology* (Pasadena: printed for the Institute, 1920-1940), Vols. 29-48.
3. Robert A. Millikan, *The Autobiography of Robert A. Millikan* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), p. 14.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
5. Quoted in Earnest C. Watson, "A. A. Noyes," *Engineering and Science*, XXXII (October, 1968): 27. For the general biographical details of Noyes' life, see Linus Pauling, "Arthur Amos Noyes," *Biographical Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*, XXXI (1958): 322-346.
6. Recent biographical studies of Einstein include: Banesh Hoffman in collaboration with Helen Dukas, *Albert Einstein: Creator and Rebel* (New York: Viking Press, 1972) and Ronald Clark, *Einstein: The Life and Times* (New York: World Publishing, 1971).
7. Letter to the Editor, *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 1931.
8. Einstein to Hale, October 14, 1913, George Ellery Hale Papers, Millikan Library, Institute Archives, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA., Box 154, "E" Miscellaneous file (hereafter, GEH Papers). For details of Hale's life, see Helen Wright, *Explorer of the Universe: A Biography of George Ellery Hale* (New York: Dutton, 1966).
9. Einstein to Millikan, August 1, 1931, Robert A. Millikan Papers, Box 39.7 (Hereinafter, RAM Papers).
10. Richard Chace Tolman Papers, Box 4.16, February 5, 1931. See also Judith Goodstein, "Richard Chace Tolman," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, XIII (New York: Scribners, 1976): 429-430.
11. M. J. Blakely filmclip, copy deposited in Institute Archives.
12. Quoted in "Charles F. Richter," transcript of an oral interview conducted by Ann Scheid, Oral History Project, Millikan Library, Institute Archives, 1979, p. 32.
13. Details of Einstein's visits to southern California are reported extensively in Clark, *Einstein*, pp. 430-460.
14. Quoted in "Earnest Watson," Transcript of an oral interview conducted by Larry Shirley, 1969, pp. 11-12.
15. Quoted in "Carl D. Anderson," Transcript of an oral interview conducted by Harriet Lyle, 1980, pp. 25-26.
16. Hale to L. F. Hartman, August 5, 1929, GEH Papers, Box 69. Hale chose this topic in the hope of "interesting someone like Yerkes, Hooker, and Carnegie. . . , who might wish to provide the means of penetrating farther into space." *Ibid.*
17. Hale to Rose, February 14, 1928, GEH Papers, Box 35.
18. Quoted in Hale, "Biographical Notes," February 8, 1933, GEH Papers, Box 92.
19. Hale to Porter, November 17, 1928, GEH Papers, Box 33. For a full account of Porter's life, see Berton C. Willard, *Russell W. Porter* (Freeport, Maine: Bond Wheelwright Co., 1976).
20. Willard, *Porter*, pp. 175-200.
21. Hale, "The Astrophysical Observatory of the California Institute of Technology," *The Astrophysical Journal*, LXXXII (September, 1935): 116-118. See also Helen Wright, *Palomar: The World's Largest Telescope* (New York: MacMillan, 1952).
22. Hale, "Astrophysical Observatory," 118-119. Technical details of the project, including the design of the telescope mount and the construction at Palomar Mountain, are discussed in J. A. Anderson, "The Astrophysical Observatory of the California Institute of Technology," *The Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada*, XXXVI (May-June, 1942): 177-200.
23. Bruce H. Rule Papers, Caltech Archives, Box 9.2.
24. California Institute of Technology, *Faculty Minutes*, May 29, 1925-June 7, 1935, p. 141, Institute Archives.
25. H. S. Mudd to Millikan, August 15, 1932, Edward C. Barrett Papers, Box 1.8. The financial information is based on administrative documents collected by Barrett in preparation for a history of the school. *Ibid.*
26. Personal communications, C. Wilts to the author, November 14, 1980; J. Bonner to the author, November 25, 1980.

27. Members of the Ricketts House Waiters' Union to W. Wheeler, June 1, 1937, "Committee on Student Houses," 1933-1937, CIT Historical Files, Box 35.3 (Hereinafter cited as CSH).
28. "Student House Rules and Policies," n.d., CIT Historical Files, Box 35.2.
29. W. Hertenstein to F. W. Hinrichs, February 21, 1935, CSH, Box 35.3.
30. Shirley, "Earnest C. Watson," pp. 3-4.
31. "Interhouse Committee Recommendations as to Meals," April, 1935, CSH, Box 35.3.
32. Clark to F. W. Hinrichs, October 26, 1936, CSH, Box 35.3.
33. "Research Activities at CIT," October 6, 1928, p. 3, GEH Papers, Box 6.

“POP” LAVAL

San Joaquin Valley Photographer



Claude C. "Pop" Laval (on ladder) posing with his studio equipment and assistant, Levi Monroe about 1914.

When historians begin writing the saga of photography in California, they will necessarily confront the careers and contributions of a batch of heretofore neglected commercial photographers who labored outside the artistic limelight, often under less than ideal conditions, in the rural areas of the state. And there is no doubt that one of the most important of these personalities will be the energetic, innovative, slightly-built refugee from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania who worked in and around Fresno for over half a century—Claude C. “Pop” Laval.

Devoting all of his energy, every day, from 1912 until 1966 to photographing the people, places, events, towns, architecture, industries and farms of the San Joaquin Valley, Laval created a remarkable pictorial record. His is one of the most extensive ever compiled by a California photographer—over a hundred thousand negatives of which almost five hundred glass plates survive—a nearly definitive visual diary of the region bordered by Bakersfield, Stockton, the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the Diablo Range.

Laval was also a solid craftsman whose interest in creative lens work inevitably led him to adopt and develop much new technology. Above all, however, he was a highly successful entrepreneur who came to Fresno with nothing yet somehow managed to expand his business from a cow-barn arrangement into the finest studio in the San Joaquin Valley. A look at his career thus illuminates many aspects of commercial photography, particularly the balance between the artistic and money-making dimensions, the convergence of creativity and the California dream, and how time, place and personality combine to determine success or failure.¹

The son of a successful inventor and engineer, Claude Laval was born in New York City in 1882. Moving with his family first to Chicago and then Brooklyn, he took his first job in 1896, in Braddock,

Pennsylvania, where he worked as an architect and civil engineer, this despite being fourteen years of age and without even a high school diploma. Two years later, he became foreman of the Cohocton Iron Works at Monongahela.²

Laval’s interest in photography evolved somewhat unexpectedly at this time when in 1901 he purchased for five dollars an apparently broken 8 x 10-inch “crackerbox” view camera. Finding the ground glass focusing screen had been reversed, Laval corrected the problem, creating for himself a fine piece of equipment which he would use regularly for the next sixty-five years.³

Experimenting with his new camera, Laval eventually concluded that the rewards of photography were far greater than those of industrial labor. Consequently in 1906 he quit his job at the iron works and accepted employment at R. W. Johnston studios, largest photographic firm in Pittsburg. Working there for the next five years, Laval acquired a broad foundation in the various technical aspects of his new profession. By 1910, however, he had become increasingly dissatisfied with the limited opportunities and brutal winters. He was determined to establish his own business, preferably somewhere warm, and his thoughts turned frequently to the spaciousness of the west, especially California. “I wanted more than anything to see real sunshine and enjoy it,” he recalled many years later.⁴

So in 1911, Laval and his wife Sadie boarded a train to Fresno where his mother and three sisters had settled following the death of Papa Laval. Arriving with less than \$90 in his possession, he accepted the first job he found—as a janitor and handyman for Chester

Richard Steven Street won the 1978 Phelan Award for his study of the origins of California agribusiness. He is presently completing a multivolume illustrated history of California farm workers. He lives in his home town, San Anselmo, California, and writes for the *Pacific Sun*.

Rowell, editor of the *Fresno Republican* and the town's leading citizen. Doing everything from bookkeeping and carpentry to sweeping the floors at the Fresno Unitarian Church and driving out to various schools with Rowell in order to visit with children and hand out small bags of candy, Laval remained with Rowell until late 1912. It was in that year when he decided to put his "crackerbox" to work.⁵

Lacking the two prerequisites for a photography business—a darkroom and capital—Laval decided to launch his career from the barn behind his mother's home at 656 North Van Ness Avenue. Knocking out the cow stalls and installing a wooden floor, he created a workable if somewhat primitive space, but there were also certain defects. For one, the barn could not be made light secure, a problem which forced Laval to develop his film and prints at night. Another difficulty was the smallness of the lab: it would not accommodate the over-sized chemical holding pans required for making large prints. As a result, Laval often had to take his prints out behind the barn, again at night, and wash them down with a mop and bucket and garden hose.⁶

Announcing his business in full-page ads appearing in the *Fresno Morning Republican*, Laval declared: "I specialize in commercial work of every description and size such as conventions, banquets, gatherings, land development, construction of buildings, railroads, irrigation projects etc. Another feature of my business," he stressed, "is taking photographs to be used in connection with lawsuits and legal work. I have . . . thorough equipment to handle all the above work, no matter what the magnitude of the job may be, or where it is located . . . I do my work neatly and with dispatch, returning a proof at all banquets within 45 minutes after the photo is taken . . ."⁷

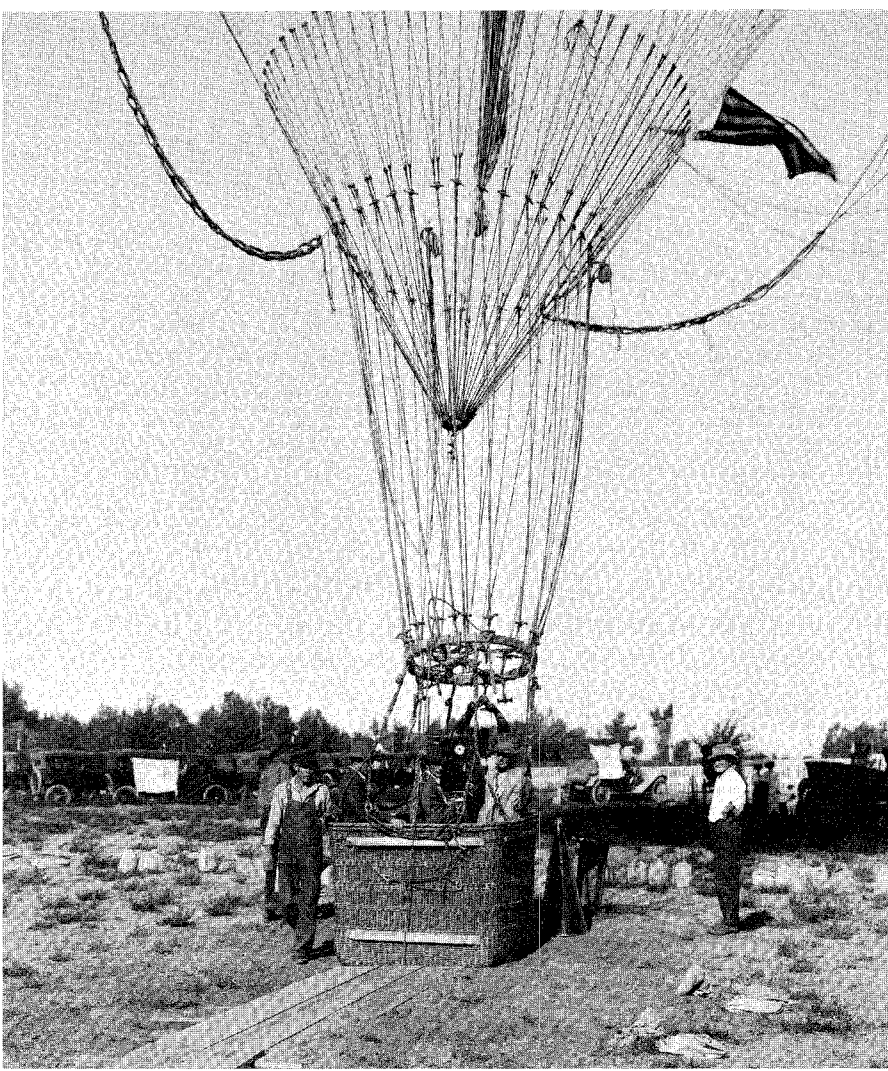
Laval was not the only photographer in town. At least a half-dozen studios had been active since the

1890s; some even dated back to the 1870s. Yet, Laval's timing could hardly have been better. With a population of 40,000 and vast amounts of prime land, Fresno was on the verge of shedding its railroad influence and blossoming into the marketing, production and distribution center for a vast, irrigated, agricultural wonderland—in short, the perfect situation for an aspiring commercial photographer.⁸

The bulk of Laval's work that first year consisted of indoor photography, everything from the *Fresno Republican* Cooking School and the Raisin City Gun Club Mud Hen Shoot to the Brickmasons' and Plumbers' Convention. A high point in the year occurred on July 16, when Laval served as exclusive photographer to the San Francisco wedding of Jennie Crocker. He made forty-two glass plates, all of which became the property of the Crocker family and have subsequently disappeared. The same month he also photographed the Women's National Confederation meeting at the Cliff House in San Francisco.⁹

Laval shot many of these early images using smokeless flashlight equipment—the first such equipment in the San Joaquin Valley and a vast improvement over the old, somewhat dangerous and unreliable system of flashpans and special flash powders. "No noise, smoke or confusion . . .," his ads promised. But not always. Misfortunes were numerous. Every so often the bulbs blew up. Once, while he was photographing animals at a circus, an exploding flashbulb set the animals into a wild frenzy requiring the evacuation of the arena. On other occasions, the bulbs malfunctioned, burning Laval's hair, hands and clothes and forcing him to resort to flash powder and pans, much to the dismay of his assistants whose job was to fill and arrange the dreaded equipment.¹⁰

Laval's inauguration in outdoor photography came unexpectedly one day when J. C. Forkner hired the



"Pop" Laval (center) and his assistant, Leon Perraud (right), preparing to soar above the Fresno Fair in 1914. Their films, shot at an altitude of 1,000 feet, were later used in newsreels.

young photographer to document a massive and some said idiotic attempt at reclaiming over 12,000 acres of barren, worthless "hog wallow" and "hard pan" just north of Fresno. Over the next three years, Laval set his camera up in exactly the same spot and recorded in microcosm what was occurring throughout the valley, as well as what he would be called upon to document again and again over the next fifty-four years: massed Fordson tractors going round and round in well-organized confusion as they leveled the land; the use of 660,000 lbs. of dynamite to blast holes for 600,000 fig trees; the dredging and digging of twenty-five miles of irrigation canals and 135 miles of lateral ditches; the building of Van Ness Boulevard, seven miles long, shaded with ornamental trees and running straight as a surveyor's mark from Fresno to Forkner's Gardens—in sum, the transformation of an ugly landscape into a veritable Garden of Eden.¹¹

The largest and most important photographic assignment of this period was a position offered by George C. Roeding, head of the California Association of Nurserymen, who hired Laval as official photographer for the San Joaquin Counties Association. Laval's task was frankly propagandistic: publicize the seven valley counties, focusing on their many assets and attractive qualities, and prepare photo presentations for the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco and the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego.

Launching himself into the project, Laval soon discovered that the standard photographic technology left much to be desired. The flat landscape, he concluded, could only be fully portrayed with wide-angle lenses and circuit and panoramic cameras, then virtually unknown in the valley and as yet used by few photographers. Convincing the Association to purchase such equipment, he tested it for the first



time on August 5, 1914, in a corn field about one mile west of Laton. Finding the result to be satisfactory, he then proceeded to document the wheat fields, vineyards, wineries, packing sheds, canneries, peach drying yards and irrigation projects which dotted the countryside.¹²

At the same time, Laval also began experimenting with hand-cranked 35 mm. movie cameras. One of his first projects—an extremely valuable documentary of the “blastophaga grassorum” (the tiny fig wasp which pollinated Calmyrna figs)—utilized a crude close-up lens consisting of a round bowl filled with water. Other subjects which he captured on over 50,000 ft. of film included the McNeil and Libby peach cannery plant at Selma; grain harvesting operations in the dry lake region near Corcoran;

planting shade trees along the state highway between Fresno and Herndon; the first annual Raisin Day Parade and Pageant; “the world’s record raisin shipment” on April 30, 1914, consisting of sixty box cars filled with three million packages of raisins; and “The Story of a Peach,” a time lapse motion picture of the C. T. Walker peach orchard taken from the same spot in winter, spring, summer and fall and including some excellent harvesting scenes, perhaps the earliest motion pictures of California farm workers.¹³

Completing his work in late 1914, Laval first edited his movie film, then retired to a specially equipped studio in Merced where he and Joe Thulen, who had cooperated in making scenes of the north valley, printed sixty-four hand-tinted still picture enlargements measuring forty inches by eight feet. Dis-

played in the California State building and the San Joaquin Hall, this visual material attracted considerable praise and commentary. It also ensured Laval's success, publicized his business, and brought him the kinds of clients that would be the mainstay of his career—farmers and farm-related industries including everything from raisin cooperatives, tractor factories and wineries to the county horticultural association, the Fresno Chamber of Commerce, the American Cyanamid Chemical Corporation, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the Army Corps of Engineers.¹⁴

All of this spelled incessant activity for Laval, who became a common sight as he bicycled to and from jobs over the unpaved Fresno roads with his heavy tripod, delicate glass plates and big box camera strapped to his handlebars. "Once another fellow and I carted our paraphernalia to the West Side in a surrey to take some pictures at a duck hunt," he recalled in a 1953 interview. "We converted an outhouse for two into a darkroom and developed our negatives and made our prints right there."¹⁵

When the bicycle and surrey transportation became obsolete, Laval purchased a car, loaded it with ladders, lights and other equipment and turned himself into a mobile studio. On many occasions he drove to the site of a parade where he leaned his ladder against a building or water tower, hoisted a camera onto one shoulder and climbed up the ladder until he reached the best view point. In one especially revealing picture taken in 1918, Laval is perched in what appears to be an old English walnut tree cradling a hand-cranked 35 mm. camera at the start of a road race which he is filming for *Old Gaumont Weekly*, a film service engaged in distributing his film to various movie halls throughout the valley.¹⁶

For all his enthusiasm, however, Laval would not accept every kind of photographic assignment. He hated portraiture, at least portraiture in the traditional

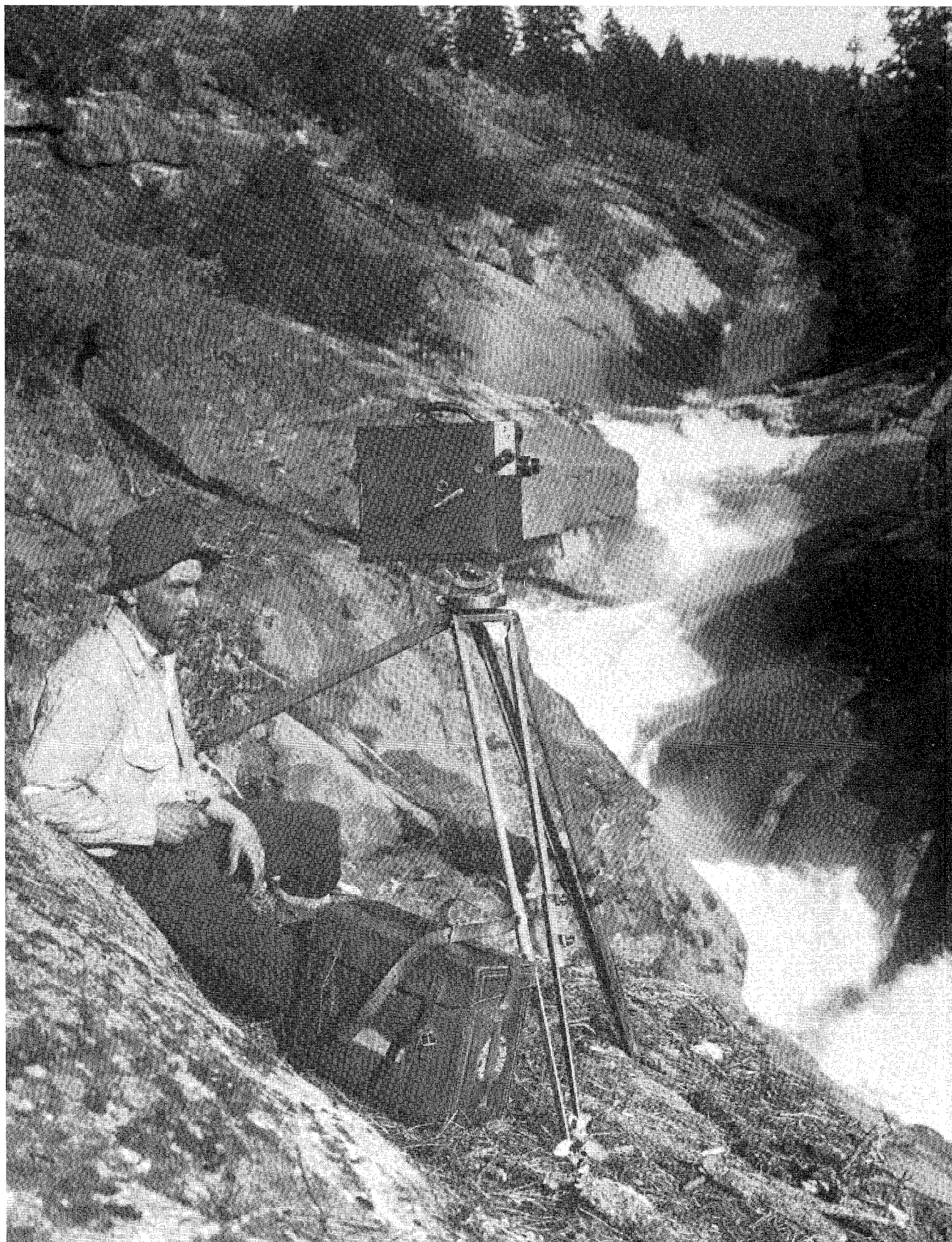
sense of formal studio sittings. Abhorring this, he labeled as "fakery" the use of props and the practice, common at the time, of retouching prints and negatives. Yet Laval did not completely exclude such photography, as we can see in his images confronting the extinction of local Indian tribes, lamenting the death of old pioneers who had trekked overland to California via wagon train or simply recording a common domestic scene which he found interesting.¹⁷

By the early 1920s, Laval had become a local institution. He held a virtual monopoly on commercial photography in Fresno, a position he solidified by merging with his main competitor, F. C. Ninnis, a photographer who had been active in California since 1895 and in the Fresno area since 1904. This association continued until 1928, when Laval dropped his partnership with Ninnis, embarked on a program of further growth, diversification and consolidation, and incorporated as Laval Studios, a corporation capitalized at \$75,000, employing a staff of five and operating out of a former Pontiac showroom near the courthouse in downtown Fresno.¹⁸

Little information exists on the Pontiac showroom and studio. The only reliable source is R. V. Powell, a veteran photographer who as a teenager loaded flash pans and generally assisted Laval in his various ventures. Recalling Laval's establishment fifty years after working there he remembered how:

The old Pontiac showroom had this very unique projection system which "Pop" used for making his giant prints. There wasn't another like it. Basically the apparatus consisted of a big mirror outside the building, fixed at a 45 degree angle to the sun, which reflected off the mirror through a hole in the wall and into an enlarging camera. From there the camera shot the light through a negative onto a wall or big, movable easel holding a piece of sensitized photo paper.¹⁹

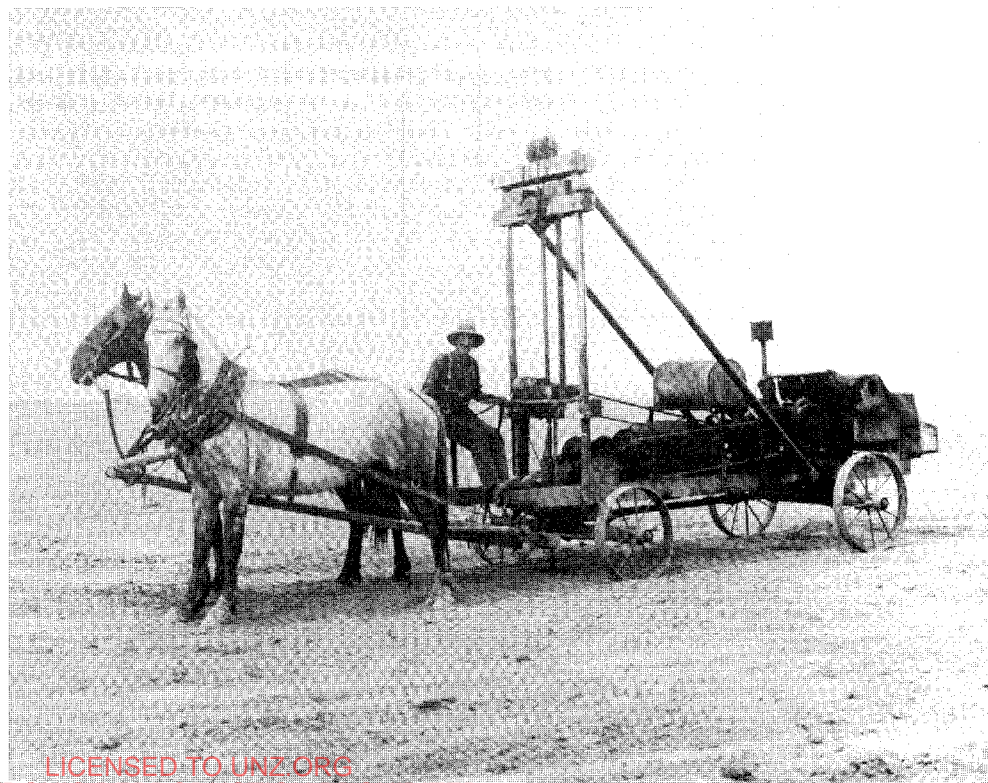
Regrettably, Laval's projection system has been





A mother and child—one of Laval's first glass plates, c. 1908.

Laval in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, 1916, with his hand-cranked 35 mm. camera.



A water driller, 1915, somewhere near Fresno.

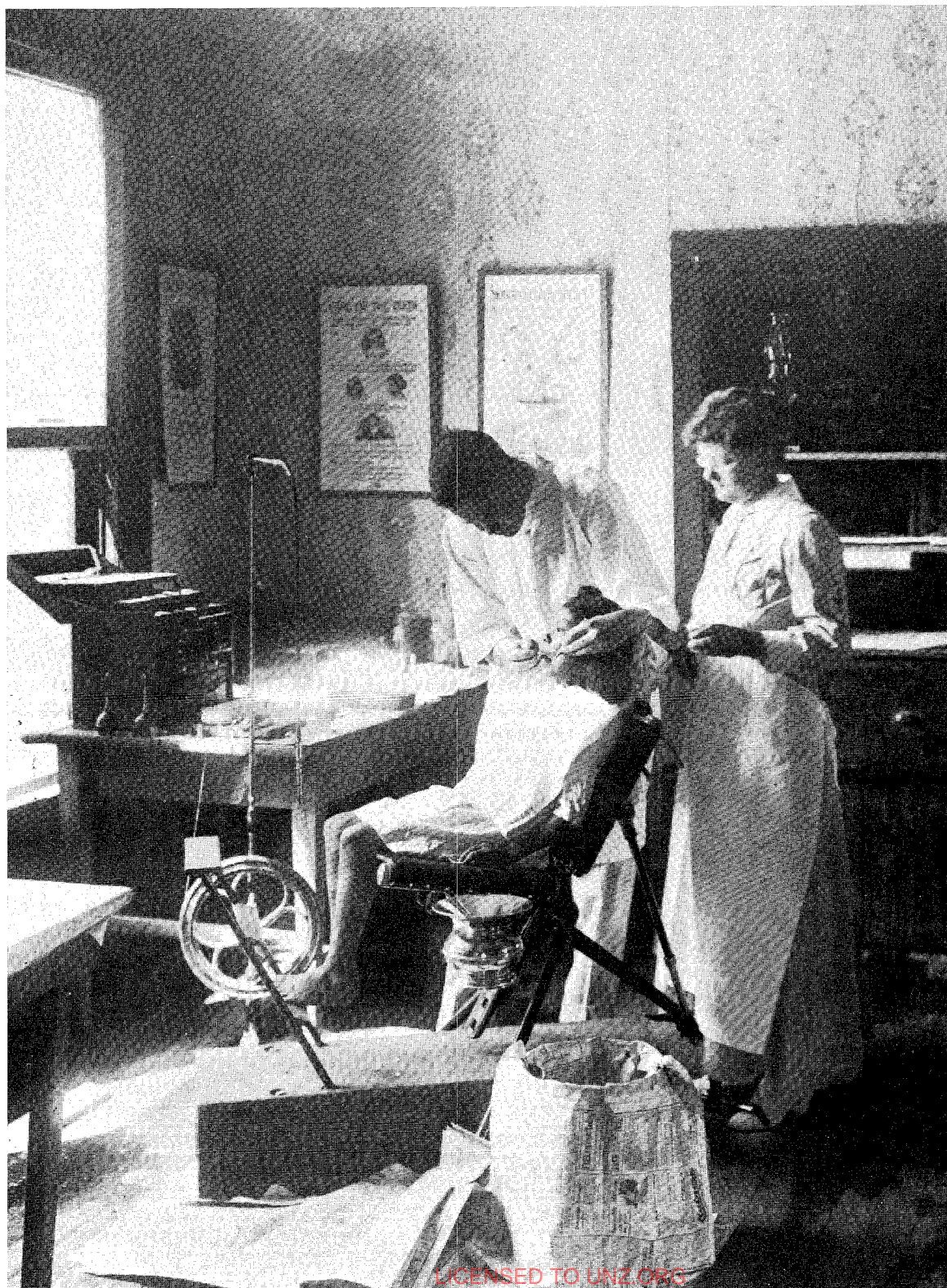


Zapp's Park swimming pool, roller coaster and ferris wheel; summer 1912.



*Fresno Raisin Festival
c. 1915.*

Clovis Dental Clinic, 1918.



lost or destroyed. So too has his set-up for making color prints, surely the first of its kind in the valley. All that remains is Powell's description as follows:

Laval used the Ives Process and it was especially interesting in that it combined stereoscopic separations of red, green and blue transparencies projected in register to make the final print. "Pop" got interested in it because he thought it would work well in advertising. I remember making some prints of the Sun Maid Raisin package label. But they never looked right. Besides, the process was very expensive and complicated and there was very little market for color work. That's why "Pop" dropped it.²⁰

Such experimentation says much about Laval as a photographer. Evaluated in conjunction with his willingness to climb about in trees or water towers or whatever else was handy and effective plus his pioneering work with smokeless flash equipment and both circuit and 35 mm. movie cameras, it reveals an enthusiastic personality capable of handling any assignment no matter how unusual or difficult or dangerous.²¹

One assignment illustrates these qualities especially well. It was a pack trip and photographic reconnaissance expedition, conducted for the Fresno Chamber of Commerce, which Laval led into the upper reaches of the Kings Canyon during August and September of 1928. Requiring over 1,000 lbs. of equipment and an ascent via deer trails and mules along the narrow valley to a height of 10,600 ft., the trip presented many physical and technological challenges. But for Laval, an avid fisherman and outdoorsman, it was paradise.

Using a new 200 mm. telephoto lens, he shot 35 mm. motion picture views of unreachable, snow-capped peaks, as well as some one hundred and forty still images of North Dome, Sentinel Ridge, Roaring River Falls, McKinley Rock and the Kings River Canyon itself. Upon returning to Fresno, he made hundreds of eight by ten inch contact prints which

the Chamber of Commerce used to illustrate brochures and pamphlets and calendars and talks designed to obtain government support for a road opening up the Kings River Canyon. "Harvesting a big crop of tourists is looked for as a result," commented the *Fresno Republican*.²²

Widely circulated and attracting much press coverage, Laval's scenic views helped transform Kings River Canyon from a wilderness accessible only by pack animals into a region easily reached by car, just a few hours drive from Fresno. They also brought a deluge of new assignments, so many that during the 1930s, as other photographers folded up their operations for lack of work, Laval actually expanded his business. He moved into an even larger studio at 314 North Van Ness Avenue and reorganized according to a kind of hierarchy of tasks: Laval took responsibility for all policy decisions and certain key jobs, while his son Claude Jr. handled middle level work. The various assistants took care of all processing, printing, developing, billing and such routine assignments as insurance company requests for pictures of car crashes at unmarked crossroads and public relations shots of the local Roller Derby entrepreneur posed in front of his new Cadillac.²³

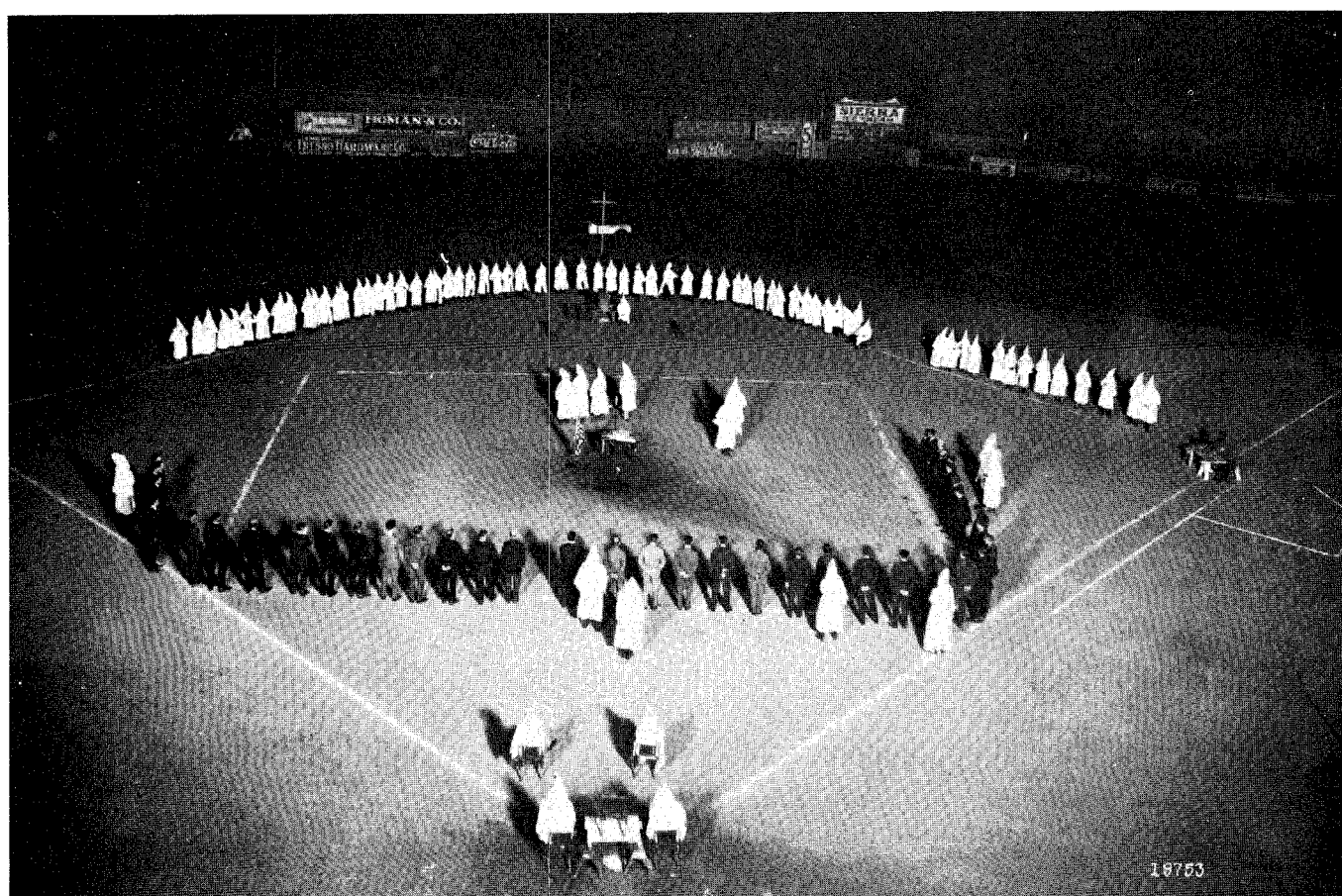
One significant assignment lasting throughout the 1930s centered on the construction of dams, canals and power generating plants. The water and electricity from these projects would provide the basis for the expansion of agriculture and settlement in the San Joaquin Valley. Consequently, Laval spent much of his time at various construction sites photographing for newspapers and public relations firms and utilities, particularly San Joaquin Light and Power and Southern California Edison, principal developers of the resources east of Fresno.²⁴

From a strictly financial standpoint, Laval's most important account during this period was with American Cyanamid Chemical Corporation

Babe Ruth (third from left) and Lou Gehrig (left) are greeted by Father Crawley (second from left), Fresno, 1927.



Ku Klux Klan induction ceremonial held at the Fresno Baseball Park on the night of April 17, 1925.





(ACCC). It consisted of photographing ads for CYANOGAS—a calcium cyanide poison manufactured by ACCC and used to control the grape leaf hopper, a pest which often ravaged vineyards in the area around Fresno. Some ads were banal. One of them, running beneath a Laval photograph of a bottle of Castor Oil read: “Well, for the past 25 years CYANOGAS has done to grape leaf hoppers just what Castor Oil does to one’s system: CLEANS IT OUT.” Another ad, published in the *Fresno Bee*, referred to Laval’s picture of eight Indians in full Hollywood regalia. “These Indians long ago quit scalping their enemies,” it began. “The grape grower has one enemy in the grape leaf hopper that needs scalping annually and for the past 25 years he has had the help of CYANOGAS . . . Always dependable, CYANOGAS not only helped scalp the hoppers but it drove them out of the vineyards.”²⁵

The CYANOGAS account continued from 1935 until well into the 1940s, paying handsomely but consisting of unchallenging work which was valueless both as art and history. It revealed Laval’s unique ability to hustle, balance the various dimensions of his business and keep his operations solvent during hard times. Far more creative and useful, however, was the aerial photography he did for the state and federal governments.

Laval was no stranger to aerial photography. Beginning this part of his work in 1914 when he and an assistant floated in a balloon to an altitude of 1,000 ft. in order to photograph crowds attending a Fresno fair, he expanded his aerial photography during the 1920s when he and pilot Jack Schneider of Schneider Aero Service conducted extensive surveys in an especially-rigged Varney biplane. Consisting mostly of reconnaissance over the San Joaquin Light and Power Company watershed, this photography also included anything Laval and Schneider were curious about, as well as surveys of floods, suspected grain

field arson and measurements of the growth of Fresno.²⁶

Because of this experience, the United States Department of Agriculture hired Laval in 1937 to photograph 20,000 square miles of California farm land. Lasting from 1938 until 1940, the project required over 500 hours of flight time and produced an extremely valuable survey map which supplied data essential to the planning of flood control/irrigation reservoirs at Behymer and Red Bank Lakes. It also led to a second aerial project, commissioned by the United States Army Corps of Engineers, in which Laval shot 2,700 photos over a strip of land six to twenty miles wide and running from Vicksburg, Mississippi north to the Tennessee and Kentucky border. Taken with a new mapping camera at an altitude of 8,370 feet, these pictures helped chart the progress of flood control measures along the Mississippi and its tributaries. Except for his early photography in Pittsburg, this was the only assignment Laval ever accepted outside of California.²⁷

In the midst of all this flying about, Laval somehow completed his largest mural—a thirty-four by fourteen foot panorama depicting one of Fresno’s finest vineyards. Prominently displayed at the Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay, it dazzled crowds and evoked extensive praise among valley newspapers which described it as the work of the San Joaquin Valley’s preeminent commercial photographer.²⁸

Such accolades and success, however, had no effect on Laval’s lifestyle or his photography. A spunky, easy-going, buoyant man, he thought nothing of the inconveniences associated with hefting about his big glass plate view camera. Of this beloved “cracker-box” he once told the *Fresno Bee*: “Nobody will ever get that old box away from me. People always make fun of it. A friend of mine says a pawnbroker wouldn’t give me \$5 for it. But I can do with that old

thing what he can't do with \$350 worth of equipment."²⁹

When the small format camera technology became popular in the 1950s, Laval—now universally referred to simply as “Pop”, though no one can recall who first applied the label or when—simply refused to adopt the new equipment. Only at the insistence of his family, which believed that a seventy-year-old man should not be carting about a fifty pound camera and thirty-five pound tripod, did “Pop” begin using a small, hand-held 2¼ x 2¼ inch Rolleiflex camera. But that was the extent of his modernization. Of the new equipment, he said “I can't keep up with it.”³⁰

As “Pop” grew old he withdrew to his cow barn and photo lab—his “little old den,” as he called it—where he often entertained old buddies with gingerbread cookies and conversation. Over the half century, the walls had become cluttered with old pictures and during the years 1955-1965 those pictures served as a never-ending source of inspiration for a weekly column, “Pop Says,” which Claude wrote for the *Fresno Guide*.³¹

Looking at his old photographs, Laval would daydream, recall some old friend or event, then begin pecking away at his typewriter. Writing nostalgically about what he had seen during fifty years as a commercial photographer, “Pop” wove personal reminiscence with his principal cause: the preservation of Fresno's heritage, particularly its old historical buildings. Too many structures were being demolished without even the slightest consideration of their value as living monuments, he would say. Yes, Fresno was growing. But for the better?

“Pop” lived to see some of the old buildings restored—the Kearney Estate and Millerton Courthouse, for example. But he always felt the losses outweighed the gains, that the “chicken pie establishments” and the “Mayfair Markets” were taking over. “Fresno County,” he pleaded in one column,



“will be the one community, probably will be the only in the entire state without a single historical building left standing.”³²

Determined that his photographic record preserve at least part of what was being destroyed, Laval back in 1935 had constructed a brick vault to store his precious collection of negatives. The wisdom of that decision became apparent one night in January, 1964, when a teenage arsonist set fire to the basement of the studio storage building. Luckily, the fire department extinguished the blaze within an hour. But the combination of heat, smoke, water and steam ruined over 30,000 negatives.³³

After the fire, “Pop” seemed to lose strength. He entered Fresno Community Hospital for tests on May 13, 1965, scarcely fifteen minutes after completing the next to the last “Pop Says” column. Out after a short stay, he re-entered again on December 6. His beloved Sadie, who had been in failing health for

many months, died on December 11. "Pop" struggled on, underwent major surgery, but never left the hospital. He died at age eighty-three on February 20, 1966, of cancer.³⁴

The obituary notices eulogized Laval as a warm gentleman, "the dean of San Joaquin Valley photographers . . .," the man who did the most toward the goal of preserving Fresno's heritage and the heritage of the surrounding countryside. Lost in all of the accolades, however, was the reason why "Pop" persisted. Ironically, it had little to do with money, art or recognition.³⁵

Photography and life were inextricably linked in "Pop" Laval's very being. As the quintessential frozen easterner coming west in search of opportunity and finding it, he continually praised his being alive in a warm place—in "God's Country," as he called the San Joaquin Valley. This feeling, which was the guiding element in his work, was so strong and so pervasive and lasted so long that just two years before his death, "Pop" wrote in one of his newspaper columns how "every night I get down on my hands and knees and give Him thanks for the privilege I have enjoyed in spending over 50 Christmases in this wonderful part of the world."³⁶

Today "Pop" Laval's pictures—catalogued and organized by his grandson, Jerome Laval—survive and provide us with a unique personal account, celebration, historical record and synopsis of what he saw before his lens during a lifetime of photographing. Clear, detailed, recorded on big, old equipment used well into the era of miniaturized camera paraphernalia, these images go beyond standard commercial work. They reveal a special concern for the day to day, ordinary and extraordinary events of life—everything from fires, floods, funerals and factories to athletic events, meetings of the Ku Klux Klan, old timers, and that day in January, 1919, when the "Human Fly," after sucking the blood from a raw

piece of beefsteak and using no equipment except his hands and feet, scaled the ten story Bank of Italy building before a crowd of 5,000 Fresno citizens.³⁷

The photograph on page 258 is courtesy of the Fresno Bee. All others are from the author.

Notes

1. Laval is not mentioned in any of the various surveys of photography in California and the West. Collections of his photographs, many of them uncredited, are in the Bancroft Library, California Historical Society, Fresno County Historical Society, Fresno Public Library, Madera County Historical Society, Pioneer Museum and Haggin Galleries, Stockton, and the Lodi Public Library. Approximately five hundred glass plates measuring 8 x 10 inches are at Graphic Technology, Fresno.
2. Laval's father, Constant, emigrated from Lorraine, France in 1870, settling with his wife, Josephine, in New York. In the late 1880's, Constant invented and perfected the nitrogen-silver mirror-making process. This allowed industries to produce mirrors far more cheaply and quickly than with the old mercury treatment process and it assured the Laval family's prosperity. In the years that followed, Constant patented 19 more inventions and received lucrative jobs. Thus it was in a secure, comfortable family that Claude grew up. See June Muller, "People Interest Lens Veteran," *Fresno Bee*, December 27, 1953; *History of Fresno County, California* (Los Angeles, 1919), v. 2, p. 1438; biographical material in the Fresno Public Library and in Jerome D. Laval to Author, May 14, 1980, Author's possession and a series of interviews with Laval at Graphic Technology during 1978 and 1979.
3. "50 Years of Wedded Life Are Marked by Claude Laval," *Fresno Bee*, August 14, 1955; "Trip Over Fresno Is Birthday Gift For Aged Woman," *Ibid.*, August 19, 1939 (a reminiscence of Laval's mother); biographical material in the Fresno County Historical Society.
4. Claude C. Laval, "Why I Came to Fresno," *Fresno Bee*, April 23, 1922. See also, Jerome D. Laval, *As Pop Saw It: The Great Central Valley As Seen Through the Lens of A Camera* (Fresno, 1975), Vol. 1, p. 5.
5. Claude C. Laval, "Strolling Down Memory Lane," *Fresno Guide*, March 13, 1958. See also, various references in the Chester Rowell Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California.

6. Carla Goodman, " 'Pop' Laval's \$5 Crackerbox," *Pacific Business* (July-August, 1975), Vol. 65, No. 4, pp. 24-27; Jerome D. Laval to Author, May 14, 1980, Author's possession.
7. Clipping, *Fresno Republican*, December 13, 1912, Claude Laval Papers and Correspondence, Graphic Technology, Fresno, California.
8. One of the first photographers in the area was Frank Dusy, about whom nothing more is known than the fact that between 1865 and 1870, after an itinerant career in the gold fields, he had a studio in Millerton, a small settlement in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains east of Fresno, and is listed in the town directory. Among the many prominent photographers boasting long and productive careers in the valley were: John Pitcher Spooner, who opened a studio in Stockton during the 1870's and worked there until the 1930's; V. Covert Martin, also a Stockton photographer active from 1899 until the 1960's; R. H. Powell of Hanford and John Maxwell of Fresno, who founded their businesses in 1895 and 1896 respectively, and whose sons now operate the studios. For more information on Martin and Spooner see R. Coke Wood and Leonard Covello, *Stockton Memories* (Fresno, 1977), pp. v-vii; for Maxwell the only source is Edward F. Maxwell to Author, January 15, 1981, Author's possession; data on Powell is from an interview with R. V. Powell, January 5, 1981; Dusy is listed in the Millerton Directory; for information on Fresno at this time see, William K. Patterson, "Rough and Ready Fresno," *Fresno Bee*, September 22, 1974; Edwin Eaton, *Vintage Fresno* (Fresno, 1965), pp. 36-38.
9. *History of Fresno*, Vol. 2, p. 1438; *Fresno Herald*, July 17, 1912; Laval, "Lest You've Forgotten," no date, draft of an article for the *Fresno Guide*, Laval Papers and Correspondence. The Crocker Museum in Sacramento does not possess the glass plates or any prints that Laval made at the wedding.
10. Clippings, *Fresno Herald* and *Fresno Republican*, no dates, Laval Papers and Correspondence; for the use of flash equipment somewhat later in Laval's career see R. V. Powell interview, January 5, 1981, Author's possession. Of the dangers of outdoor flash shots, Powell says "The stuff—the flash powder would ignite at a spark. You were always worried, especially at one of those big banquets full of American Legionnaires at night out at Roedding Park. My job was to climb up a ten foot ladder and set the powder in this elevated tray that was about six feet long. When I went up the police would keep everyone clear. I'd empty four bottles of powder, all the time worried about these Legionnaires running around with about four sheets to the wind and puffing on cigars. Eventually I'd get the powder set and when it went off it would make a big boom and produce a lot of smoke."
11. Claude C. Laval, "Blasting a Dream," *Fresno Guide*, March 31, 1960; Laval, "J. C. Forkner," *Ibid.*, no date, Laval Papers and Correspondence; Forkner is also described in Ernestine Winchell, "Holland Colony," *Fresno Republican*, September 7, 1930. See also, various clippings in Fresno Scrapbooks, Bancroft Library.
12. Laval, "More About State of California," *Fresno Guide*, September 27, 1962.
13. Various unidentified clippings, particularly "County Scenes Pictured With Patent Camera," *Fresno Herald*, no date, Laval Papers and Correspondence; see also "Movies Taken of Planting of Trees Along Highway," *Fresno Bee*, April 4, 1914; "Harvesting Scenes in Movies," *Fresno Republican*, June 18, 1914; "To Take Movies of Peach Canning," *Ibid.*, August 7, 1914; "Raisin Day Movies Shown in Chicago," *Ibid.*, May 24, 1916; of the documentary on the fig wasp, Laval recalled how the crude water-bowl lens worked perfectly until half-way through filming he smelled smoke. The rays of the sun, concentrated by the magnifying powers of the bowl, had burned a hole in the table. So Claude moved the bowl to the edge of the table and resumed photographing until his assistant, Leon Perraud, who was holding a leaf upon which the insect crawled, discovered the bowl had focused the sun's rays on his trousers and burned a neat hole. The farm worker pictures are especially significant. Several were later used by the California Commission on Immigration and Housing in its various volumes on the status of the state's agricultural laborers during the years 1914-1919. Though uncredited, these photos depicting housing conditions and Francisco Palomares of the Commission addressing assembled Mexicans are definitely Laval's, as the original glass plates are in Laval's collection at Graphic Technology.
14. Various unidentified clippings, especially "Fair Fashion Show Attracts Crowd," Laval Papers and Correspondence.
15. Quoted in Muller, "People Interest Lens Veteran," and elsewhere in various interviews. Towards the end of 1915 Laval finished a promotional film demonstrating the county weights and measures department shutting down and sealing inaccurate pumps. Shortly thereafter, the Fresno Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club's Annual Ice and Snow Festival Committee hired him to direct and photograph a comedy designed to publicize winter sports in the nearby Sierra Nevada Mountains as well as lobby for a road into the region. Staged at Huntington Lake—a remote area reached only by railroad to the town of Cascada followed by a ride in a "snowboat" toboggan pulled by four horses—the "Ice Carnival Film," as it was called, turned into a disaster. The icy conditions made filming difficult and took their toll of workers and equipment. Then the final 100 feet of the film including the climactic moment of the comedy, were ruined by the San Francisco processing plant responsible for developing it. As a result, Laval and the entire company of

- actors had to return to the mountains and re-enact and re-film the concluding scenes. See Laval, "Out of the Scrapbook," *Fresno Guide*, February 4, 1963; "Developing Company Loses 100 Feet of C. C. Laval Comedy," *Fresno Republican*, March 7, 1916.
16. Laval, "Lest You've Forgotten." Among the adventures during this time, Laval listed: nearly getting boiled alive by a fiery wave of liquid that rushed down rows of vines when a big wine tank exploded as he was photographing a fire at Barton Winery in 1919; narrowly escaping decapitation when a tow cable snapped while he was busy photographing logging operations in the mountains; luckily avoiding the wheels of a train when he slipped from an engine while filming. At other times he was tossed from speeding automobiles, chased by runaway logs and struck on the head by a heavy box camera as it was being hoisted into a Sequoia tree in Redwood Canyon near Badger. Laval was even threatened by female raisin packers at the Fresno Associated Raisin Company. The problem was that they simply didn't like him coming in and making movies of them toiling away at their jobs. Eventually, however, they consented. See "Just Remembering," *Fresno Guide*, February 20, 1964.
17. *Fresno Bee*, October 6, 1974.
18. Laval, "Why I came To Fresno," and Laval, "Memories From the Good Old Days," draft of *Fresno Guide* article dated June 8, 1961, Laval Papers and Correspondence.
19. R. V. Powell Interview, January 5, 1981, Author's possession.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Laval, "Out of the Scrapbook," *Fresno Guide*, February 4, 1963; Laval, "Right in Your Own Backyard," *Ibid.*, July 10, 1958.
22. Clipping, "Pictures Tell About Kings Canyon," *Fresno Republican*, no date, Laval Papers and Correspondence; "Photo Tour of Sierra Finished," *Fresno Bee*, September 4, 1928; "Pinnacles National Monument," *Ibid.*, July 24, 1927; Laval's tripods weighed 35 lbs. each and he used three of them; his glass plates, packed six to a box, weighed 50 lbs.
23. "Laval Appointed to Photographer's Code," *Fresno Bee*, May 21, 1934; Powell Interview.
24. Various unidentified, undated newspaper clippings, Laval Papers and Correspondence.
25. Fred Howard to Laval, March 7, 1938, and enclosures, Laval Papers and Correspondence. See also, various prints with advertising copy attached.
26. "Fresnans Will Make Air Map of Old Man River," *Fresno Bee*, October 10, 1940. See also, data in the Audiovisual Collection, Still Picture Division, National Archives; Powell Interview.
27. Various unidentified, undated clippings, Laval Papers and Correspondence.
28. The Navy/Marine Corps Museum, Treasure Island, which houses a permanent collection of Exposition photographs, does not have Laval's mural.
29. Quoted in Muller, "People Interest Lens Veteran."
30. Laval, "Father's New Camera," *Fresno Guide*, June 27, 1957.
31. Laval, "Here Today, Over There Tomorrow," *Fresno Guide*, June 28, 1962; Laval, "Notes From My Picture Album," *Ibid.*, June 20, 1957; Laval, "Protection—1913 Style," *Ibid.*, January 15, 1959; Laval, "Just An Old-Timer," *Ibid.*, May 26, 1960; Laval, draft article entitled "Mansion Gains Momentum," Laval Papers and Correspondence. In 1961 Laval sold his company to A. H. "Tony" Mazmanian, a former Fresno and Detroit news photographer who immediately moved the business to 726 North Fulton. However, the deal fell apart when Mazmanian failed to complete the purchase payments. At that point the company reverted to Laval. See, "Ex-Newsman Buys Laval Studios," *Fresno Bee*, March 5, 1961; see also, Laval Interviews.
32. Laval, "A Small But Historical Building," *Fresno Guide*, September 15, 1960; Laval credits the activities of M. T. Kearney, a pioneer vineyardist whose estate and its eleven mile drive were flanked by giant eucalyptus trees, with creating his first interest in Fresno as a future home. See Laval, "From Its First Knee Breeches to Long Pants, Time Marches on For Fresno County," *Fresno Guide*, January 9, 1964.
33. "Firebug Torch Old Laval Studio," *Fresno Bee*, January 6, 1964; Jerome D. Laval to Author, May 14, 1980, Author's possession.
34. "'Pop' Laval, 83, Photography Veteran, Dies," *Fresno Bee*, February 21, 1966; "Mrs. Laval, 85, Photographer's Wife, Is Dead," *Ibid.*, December 23, 1965; Judson W. Conger, "Radioactive Iodine Replaces Surgery for Fresno Woman," *Ibid.*, October 13, 1954; Claude C. Laval, "Keep Wearing that Cheery Smile," *Fresno Guide*, May 13, 1965.
35. Bobbye Temple, "'Pop' Laval," *Fresno Bee*, October 6, 1974; "Two Who Have Done Much," *Ibid.*, February 26, 1966; Muller, "People Interest Lens Veteran."
36. Draft of "Pop Says" column for *Fresno Guide*, no date, Laval Papers and Correspondence.
37. "Laval Pictures Will Be Shown at City College," *Fresno Bee*, September 19, 1976; "Through the Lens of 'Pop' Laval," *Ibid.*, October 1, 1974; "Singing the Valley's Praises," *Ibid.*, July 6, 1976; Gene Rose, "Fresno Pictorial History," *Ibid.*, October 13, 1974; Rose, "Valley's Pictorial Splendor In A Bicentennial Present," *Ibid.*, July 6, 1976.

James vs. Marinship: Trouble on the New Black Frontier

Nathan I. Huggins, now a distinguished Harvard historian, was one of 4846 black residents of San Francisco in 1940. He was then in junior high school and remembers "how small a community we were. . . . How self-satisfied everyone was, despite discrimination in almost every line of employment, pervasive restrictive covenants, and powerlessness in city politics." Huggins also remembers "how ambivalent everyone was about the wave of blacks from the South, brought to man new jobs in the war industries. The old [black] residents saw the new as crude, rough and boisterous. They lacked the manners and sense of decorum of San Francisco." But the newcomers made good wages and formed what Huggins calls "the basis of black business in the city." Blacks no longer could be ignored, and "complacency disappeared. Racial tensions rose." Huggins notes that many of the old black residents wished the newcomers "would all go back where they came from."¹ But they stayed and laid the foundations of most black neighborhoods and communities that still exist in the San Francisco region.

The great World War II migration is the most important event in the history of black people in the Bay Area. The region became a new black frontier, the Afro-American population growing from less than 20,000 in 1940 to over 60,000 in 1945. The number of

blacks in San Francisco more than quadrupled during the war, while that of Richmond and Vallejo grew by ten times. By 1945, blacks had replaced Asians as the Bay Area's largest non-white minority and the chief target of prejudice and discrimination.²

In some respects, the huge migration was typical of earlier movements of non-whites to California. Like Asians and Mexicans, wartime blacks came to fill a labor shortage. But while previous minorities came as foreign immigrants and were forced into unskilled, low-paid employment, wartime blacks were American citizens recruited to fill high-wage industrial jobs created by the national emergency. About seventy percent of the employed black newcomers worked in one industry—the shipyards. Blacks comprised less than three percent of the region's shipyard labor force in 1942, but that figure rose to seven percent in the following year and to more than ten percent by the end of the war.³

Shipyard work was largely in skilled, unionized crafts. Most Bay Area craft unions traditionally had been "lily-white," excluding both Asians and blacks, but during the war the unions suddenly had to face the possibility of large numbers of non-white members. To admit black workers violated long-standing membership rules and traditions, but to refuse to do so, left unions open to charges of the very kind of undemocratic behavior against which America was supposed to be fighting. Moreover, if unions enforced membership restrictions against blacks, they would deprive shipyards of thousands of workers in

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the midst of a national emergency and regional labor shortage.

In spite of their significance, neither the wartime black migration nor the labor conflicts it engendered have received much historical attention. Recent works on California black history have concentrated on the pre-World War II years, and studies produced during the 1940s naturally lack historical perspective.⁴ The article presented here seeks to redress this scholarly imbalance by concentrating on the wartime struggle between black workers and the Boilermakers union which resulted in the California Supreme

Court's landmark decision in the case of *James v. Marinship*. The conflict at Marinship was a microcosm of the tensions produced by the great demographic movements of World War II. In ethnic relations, as in so many other areas, the war fundamentally changed American society.

Marinship was one of the "instant" wartime shipyards created by the United States Maritime Commission. The Commission owned the yards but contracted with private companies to build and operate the plants. The first and largest such enterprise in the Bay Area was the giant Kaiser complex in



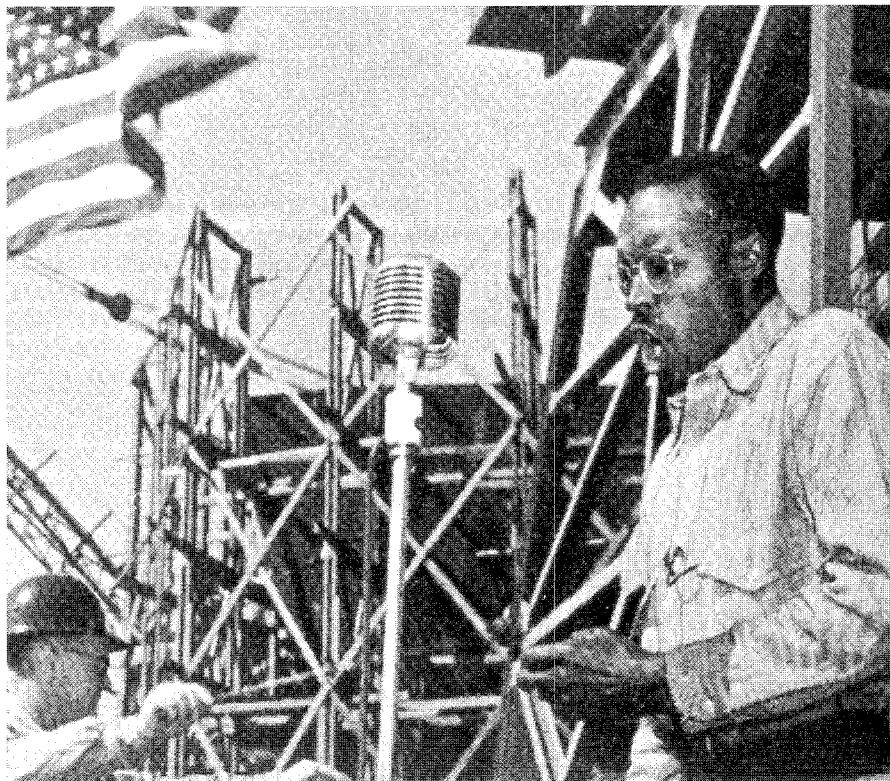
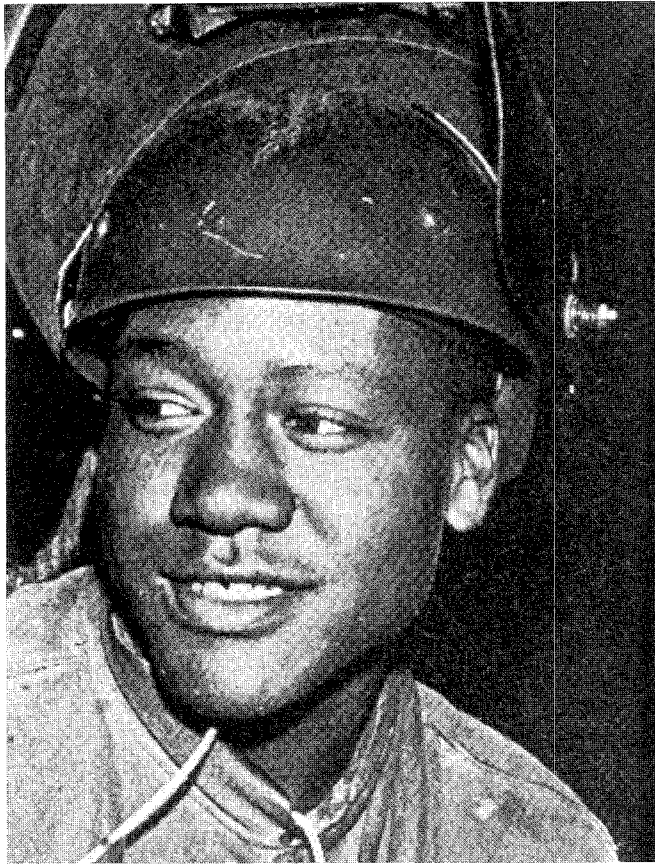
Richmond. W. A. Bechtel Company of San Francisco had previously been involved in several joint business ventures with Kaiser (such as the Boulder Dam project), and had also been contracted to operate Maritime Commission yards, including Calship in southern California. On March 2, 1942 the Commission asked Bechtel to establish a new plant on San Francisco Bay. One week later Kenneth Bechtel was in Washington with a proposal for a yard on the Marin County shoreline of Sausalito, just across the Golden Gate Bridge from San Francisco. On June 27, less than four months after the contract was awarded, Marinship laid its first keel. Initially, the yard produced "liberty ships," cargo vessels also manufactured by Kaiser. In 1943 Marinship shifted to production of prefabricated tankers, and by late 1944 the yard was launching a ship per week. By fall of 1945, Marinship had built ninety-three vessels.⁵

Bechtel originally estimated that 15,000 workers were needed to keep the yard operating twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. In January, 1943 Marinship in fact had about 20,000 employees, and by mid-1944 the workforce had grown to 22,000. Recruiting workers was difficult in the midst of the war with ten million people in the armed forces. Marinship competed for labor with Kaiser and several other Bay Area shipyards and defense contractors. In addition to a few experienced shipbuilders, the company recruited women, teenagers, retired people, "Okies" from rural California and newcomers from all parts of the country. Included among the industrial migrants were blacks, chiefly from states on the western rim of the South (Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma). By mid-1943, blacks were by far Marinship's largest minority group, comprising nearly ten percent of all employees in a multi-ethnic workforce which included some Asians and Latin Americans. The company carried out a massive training effort, taking paternalistic pride in the "in-

doctrination program which taught colored recruits who had never held a responsible job before, as well as those from the so-called underprivileged portions of the country, good work habits."⁶

The massive influx of war workers created a major housing crisis in the Bay Area. Government restrictions limited construction of new private homes, but public housing alleviated some of the demand. Public projects were hastily erected throughout the region, including Marin City, planned in just three days for a 200 acre site immediately north of the Marinship yard. The project was built by Bechtel with Maritime Commission funds and operated by the Marin County Housing Authority. By the end of 1943, Marin City had a population of 5500 Marinship workers and their families.⁷

Under the leadership of Miles C. Dempster, Chief of Project Services, the Housing Authority attempted to make Marin City a model community. Although it was unincorporated territory under county control, an elected City Council was established to advise county authorities. The council published a weekly newspaper, the *Marin Citizen*, and cooperated with USO and the Travelers Aid organization to provide social services. Dempster was proud of his agency's non-discrimination policy, for unlike other Bay Area housing projects, Marin City rented accommodations on a first-come-first-served basis without regard to race. Dempster admitted that this sometimes led to inter-racial conflict and complaints from "prejudiced whites." He responded to the complaints by pointing out that "these black men are Americans. They are needed just as you are—to build ships." The City Council had both black and white members, and, according to Dempster, "gradually the color prejudices lost ground." The *Christian Science*



Male and female welders, Marinship, 1943. Joseph James (opposite) singing at a Marinship launching.

Monitor reported that Marin City proved that “white people and Negroes can live side by side—and get along.” But a former Housing Authority official admitted that if the white majority were given the power to eject blacks from the project, they probably would do so.⁸

The bulk of Marinship workers were unable to get Marin City or other Marin County accommodations and so commuted to the yard by car, bus or ferry from San Francisco.⁹ Private housing was tight for everybody, but particularly for blacks. Many Bay Area neighborhoods had restrictive covenants attached to deeds which prohibited sale or rental of homes to minorities. Residents and real estate firms practiced less formal but equally effective tactics to keep other neighborhoods and communities all-white. As a result, blacks unable to obtain public housing were crowded into those few areas that traditionally were open to minority residents.

Such an area was San Francisco’s Fillmore District, home of most black Marinship workers. Before 1942, the Fillmore had a few hundred black families scattered throughout an essentially multi-ethnic, working class neighborhood. Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, several thousand residents of the Fillmore’s “Japantown” were relocated to government camps by presidential order, and this opened up inexpensive housing just as the influx of black workers began. Even so, there was not enough space available. By 1943 about 9000 blacks were crowded into an area previously occupied by 5000 Japanese Americans, and city health officials classified over fifty-five percent of black housing in the Fillmore as substandard.¹⁰ In 1945 the Fillmore was still a multi-ethnic neighborhood, but Lester Granger of the National Urban League warned it could become “another Harlem.” Granger explained that San Franciscans were adopting “the social stereotypes of the East, and they want Negroes to stay in the Fillmore.”¹¹

While there were no legal barriers to housing discrimination, federal defense contracts did prohibit job discrimination on the basis of race, religion and national origin. The Kaiser yards initially attempted to hire only whites in skilled trades, but protests from C. L. Dellums, vice president of the Sleeping Car Porters union, and other local black leaders forced the company to reverse that policy. By the time Marinship began hiring in 1942, blacks were being recruited at all Bay Area yards. In mid-1943 the region faced a labor shortage of 50,000 people, and any able-bodied man or woman, white or black, could get a shipyard job. Blacks and women advanced rapidly to journeyman status in welding and other trades but received few promotions to supervisory positions. Within particular job categories, workers received equal pay and benefits, regardless of race or sex.¹²

Bay Area shipyard workers usually labored together peacefully and efficiently, but racist (and sexist) attitudes were certainly present in the yards. Katherine Archibald, a Berkeley student who was employed at the Moore Company in Oakland, believed most of her white co-workers shared a “race hatred that was basic.” When she tried to explain to a woman from Oklahoma that prejudice against blacks was similar to the prevalent “anti-Okie” feeling, the woman accused Archibald of inferring that Oklahomans were “no better than a nigger.” Another worker responded to Archibald’s plea for tolerance with the comment, “Well a nigger may be as good as you are, but sure ain’t as good as me.” But Archibald noted that few whites made such statements directly to blacks. A white welder explained, “if you call him that, [‘nigger’] he’s liable as not to pick up a piece of pipe and break your head with it.” According to Katherine Archibald, such fears usually kept an effective, if uneasy, racial peace at Bay Area shipyards.¹³

If Archibald was right about the prejudices of a

majority of her white co-workers, the chief shipyard union, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, accurately reflected the views of most its members. The Boilermakers represented about seventy percent of the workers at Bay Area shipyards under terms of a Master Agreement between Pacific Coast shipbuilders and the AFL Metal Trades Council. The agreement established a closed shop, specifying that "all workers . . . shall be required to present a clearance card from the appropriate union before being hired." If existing union members could not be found for job openings, new workers could be hired but were still required "to secure a clearance card . . . before starting work."¹⁴ The Boilermakers, then, had used the wartime labor shortage to achieve one of the most important union goals: control of job access. But wartime conditions had also created a multi-ethnic workforce that directly threatened the union's long tradition of white-only membership.

The Boilermakers' racial policy was shared by many, though not all, AFL craft unions. In the Bay Area, the union movement had a heritage of anti-Asian activity, and many unions also discriminated against blacks. In 1910 San Francisco black leaders persuaded a bare majority of the city's labor council to recommend that unions end restrictions against black membership, but little effort was made to enforce the resolution. The fact that employers sometimes used blacks as strikebreakers hardly promoted the cause of racial tolerance. Nevertheless, some AFL affiliates, including the Shipyard Laborers Union representing unskilled maintenance and construction workers at the yards, had long championed nondiscriminatory membership policies. In the 1930s, the new CIO unions, particularly the Longshoremen, not only had black members, but also actively supported civil rights

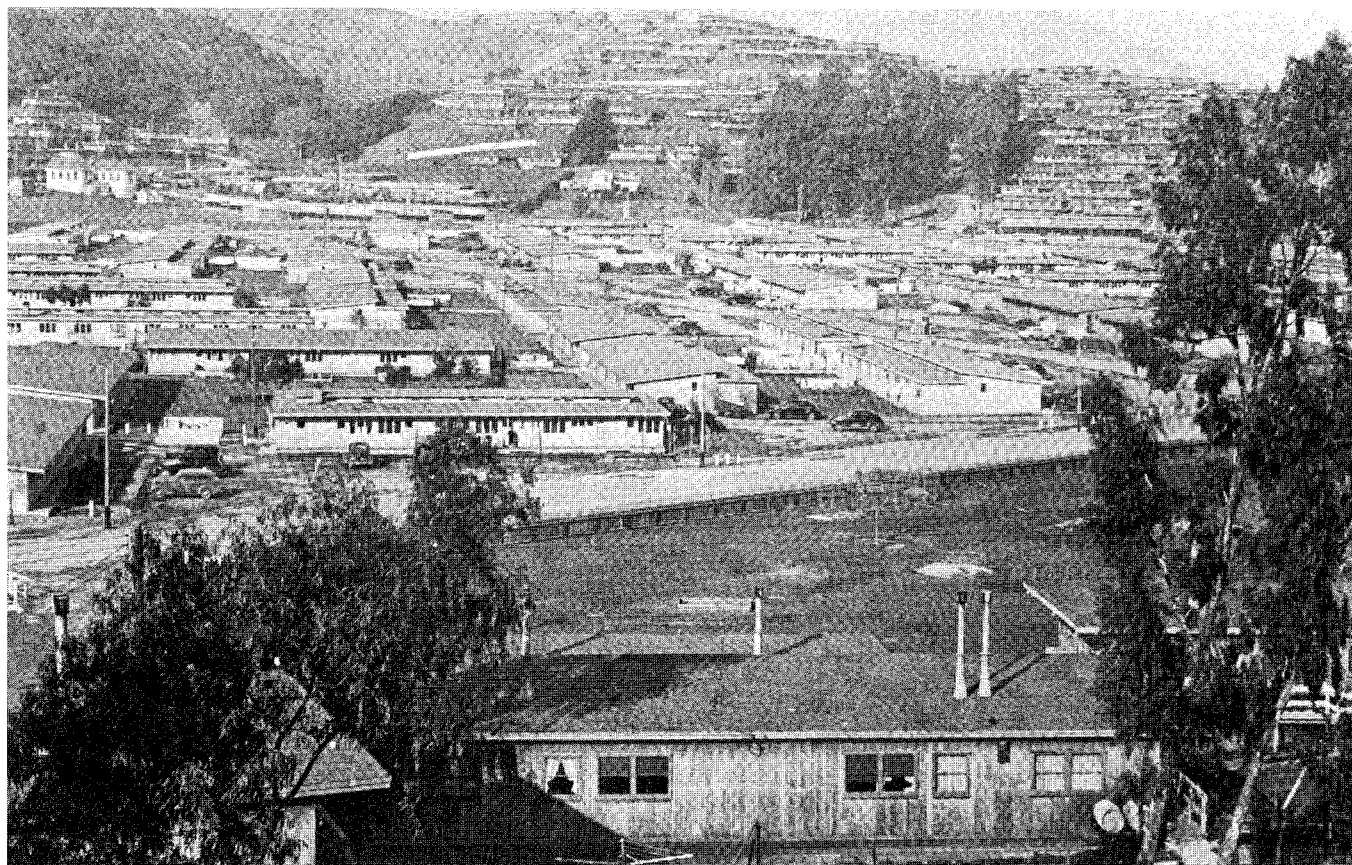
causes in the Bay Area and elsewhere.¹⁵

The Boilermakers modified their national racial policies in 1937. Prior to that, blacks had been totally banned from membership, but the union's 1937 convention authorized the establishment of all-black "auxiliaries." As the term implies, the auxiliaries were not full union locals and their members did not have full membership rights. Instead, the new structures were subordinate to regular, white locals which controlled auxiliary policies and treasuries. Auxiliaries had no independent grievance procedures, nor could they hire their own business agents. Auxiliary members had no vote on local union matters and no representation at national conventions. They also received smaller union insurance benefits than white members.¹⁶

Bay Area Boilermaker locals avoided direct confrontations over the issue of auxiliary membership during the first year of the war simply by issuing clearances to black shipyard workers without requiring them to join the union or pay dues. But by February, 1943 the black segment of the workforce was too large to ignore. East Bay locals formed auxiliaries and required blacks to join and pay dues equal to those paid by whites as a condition of employment. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed a complaint against this policy with the National Labor Relations Board, but while the NLRB criticized the auxiliary membership status, it did not ban it outright. Meanwhile, most black workers at Kaiser and other East Bay yards apparently paid their auxiliary dues. According to the NAACP magazine *Crisis*, the black worker "knew jim crow, segregation and second-class citizenship when he saw it," but he paid his dues anyway, "much the same manner as he took a rear seat on a bus in Memphis. . . . He regarded the payments as a necessary bribe for the privilege of working at a job that paid more than he ever dreamed."¹⁷



*Marin City residents, 1943. Below,
Marin City as it appeared in 1944.*



On the west side of the bay, Boilermakers Local 6, with jurisdiction over the Bethlehem and Western Pipe yards in San Francisco as well as Marinship in Sausalito, chartered Auxiliary A-41 on August 14, 1943. The local announced that henceforth black workers must join and pay dues to the auxiliary in order to receive their union work clearance.¹⁸ The announcement provoked organized opposition by the San Francisco Committee Against Segregation and Discrimination made up of several local blacks and led by Joseph James. James, in his early thirties at the time, grew up on the east coast, studied music at Boston University and pursued a promising singing career in New York. He came to San Francisco in 1939 to appear in the "Swing Mikado" at the Treasure Island Exposition and settled in the Fillmore after the fair closed. He was hired at Marinship in 1942, and in two months advanced from welder's helper to journeyman, normally a six month process. By mid-1943 James was a member of a "flying squad" of expert welders used for special jobs. He was also an active member of the NAACP, a recognized black spokesman at the yard, and, with all this, still managed to keep up his singing career. His performances were a staple at Marinship launchings and ceremonies.¹⁹

On August 21, 1943, just a week after the establishment of Auxiliary A-41, the company employee magazine, the *Marin-er*, devoted much of its issue to a discussion of race relations at Marinship. Management obviously was concerned about racial tensions, particularly following major race riots in Detroit, Los Angeles and other American cities earlier that summer. The special issue of the magazine was prepared with assistance of a "Negro Advisory Board" headed by Joe James. James also wrote the lead article, "Marinship Negroes Speak to Their Fellow Workers," calling on his readers "to turn our hatred, instead of against each other, against the forces of fascism." An editorial condemned discrimination and pro-

claimed that the war was being fought "to prove for all time the dignity and rights of the individual man regardless of race, creed or color."²⁰

Marinship soon found itself in the middle of a struggle to establish those very principles in the Boilermakers Union. After three months, at least half of the approximately 1100 blacks in jobs under Boilermaker jurisdiction at Marinship still refused to join Auxiliary A-41. On November 24, 1943 the union ordered management to fire 430 black workers unless they paid their auxiliary dues in twenty-four hours and warned an additional 150 workers that they soon faced similar treatment.²¹ That evening about 350 people met in San Francisco under the aegis of the Committee Against Segregation and Discrimination to decide on an appropriate response. Joe James told the meeting that their fight was not to destroy the Boilermakers but to strengthen the union by insisting that blacks be granted full and equal membership rights. C. L. Dellums reiterated the point, and the participants voted unanimously to continue boycotting the auxiliary.²²

On Friday, November 26 about thirty blacks on the afternoon shift were refused permission to work, the company explaining that the union had withdrawn their work clearances. Throughout the ensuing controversy, Marinship insisted it was simply an innocent bystander, required to enforce its collective bargaining contract in a dispute between black workers and the union. However, by agreeing to dismiss blacks, the company accepted the legality of the union action. Legalisms aside, Marinship must have feared that resisting the Boilermakers' wishes might result in a strike that would interrupt production.

More workers were barred at the beginning of the graveyard shift on November 26, and by Saturday



morning, November 27, hundreds of black men and women had gathered at Gate 3 of the yard to protest the lay-offs. Eventually, the crowd grew to about 800 and was described by the *San Rafael Daily Independent* as "Marin's greatest labor demonstration and most critical situation to arise since the San Francisco 'general strike' in the summer of 1934." Sheriff's deputies and Highway Patrolmen arrived with nightsticks and tear gas, "ready for any emergency." But two black deputies from Marin City assured the County Sheriff they could keep order, and, reported the *Independent*, they "succeeded admirably." Joe James and three other black committee members, Preston Stallinger, Edward Anderson and Eugene Small, met with company officials and then addressed the crowd with divided counsel. James, Stallinger and Anderson urged those who still had union clearance to return to their jobs while continuing to boycott the auxiliary. But Small called on blacks "to stand pat and not return to work" until they had won full union membership.²³

How many workers took Small's advice is a matter of dispute. The *San Francisco Examiner* reported that 1,500 walked off their jobs, but that figure is larger than the total number of Marinship blacks in jobs under Boilermaker jurisdiction. The *American Labor Citizen*, voice of the Bay Area Metal Trades Council, assured its readers that the trouble was caused by a handful of malcontents and that a "vast majority of Negro workers" remained on the job. Whatever the number of strikers, it concerned Admiral Emory S. Land of the Maritime Commission. Initially, Land urged workers to join the auxiliary under protest, but when this plea failed, the admiral asked the company to suspend the lay-offs. California Attorney General Robert Kenny made a similar request, pointing out that if ship production slowed, "more American boys are going to die, both white American boys and black American boys."²⁴ However, the company again insisted that under its collective bargaining agreement it was obligated to bar workers without union clearance.

Local 6 business agent Ed Rainbow argued that the closed shop agreement was recognized by the federal government and that blacks understood Boilermaker policy when they took shipyard jobs. The *Labor Citizen* charged that black workers who "laid down their tools" had caused all the trouble, and the paper saw nothing wrong with blacks joining auxiliaries "composed of their own people." Both Rainbow and the Metal Trades organ claimed that Local 6 had no choice in the matter, since it was simply following national union policy.²⁵ In at least one previous instance, however, Rainbow had bent national rules. In 1942 he refused clearance for six white women welders at Marinship, citing male-only provisions of the Boilermaker constitution. One woman became "very impolite and abrupt," and Rainbow eventually reconsidered. Thousands of white women were later accepted as full Local 6 members, and the woman who had protested so vociferously became a union shop steward. Rainbow was quoted saying he would "rather get hit by a baseball bat than to become embroiled with a pack of women who wanted to work."²⁶

The business agent probably soon had similar feelings about Joe James and his supporters. By Sunday, November 28, 160 blacks, including James, lost their work clearances, and that evening about 1000 people attended a committee meeting in a Fillmore District church. Eugene Small again called for a labor boycott, telling the *Independent* that blacks were considering taking jobs "not involving union membership." But James and other leaders argued the fight was against segregation, not trade unions. Eventually, the meeting approved legal action. The next morning, committee attorneys filed suit in Federal District Court on behalf of James and seventeen other black workers, asking reinstatement by Marinship and \$115,000 damages from the Boilermakers. Judge Paul St. Sure issued a temporary restraining order, suspending the

lay-offs pending formal hearing of the suit.²⁷

The company announced it would halt further lay-offs but refused to re-hire the 160 idle workers until they received union clearance. It took another court order to achieve this, and even then, Local 6 held out until Friday, December 3. On that morning, "a crowd of waiting Negro workers" were at union headquarters in San Francisco. They gathered "before the grilled windows where permits are issued," and finally, after about four hours, "the little white slips of paper started to come through." "Now we can get back to work," Joe James announced, and during the weekend, committee sound trucks toured the Fillmore and Marin City urging blacks to return to their jobs.²⁸

The formal hearing occurred on December 12 in a courtroom crowded with black spectators. Committee attorneys George Anderson and Herbert Ressler were accompanied by NAACP Chief Counsel Thurgood Marshall and Bartley Crum of the National Lawyers Guild. Anderson argued that if blacks could be forced into separate auxiliaries, so could American Indians like Ed Rainbow, Irish Americans (Judge Michael Roche) or Armenian Americans (defense attorney Charles Janigian). But the union refused to respond to this point, contending instead that federal courts had no jurisdiction and that the case should be dismissed. Judge Roche referred the dismissal motion to a three-judge panel, and until the panel made its decision, the temporary restraining order remained in force. On January 6, 1944 the judges announced they were granting the union's motion and dismissing the case. "The plaintiff's action," the court explained, "does not arise out of the federal constitution or any federal statutes."²⁹

The dismissal automatically ended the restraining

order, and Local 6 announced it would withdraw union clearance for workers who had not paid auxiliary dues by Friday, January 14. But on that day committee attorneys returned to court, this time before Marin Superior Judge Edward I. Butler of San Rafael. The committee now based its suit on state rather than federal law, and Judge Butler issued another temporary order restraining the lay-offs. The order was served just fifteen minutes before a work shift was to change at Marinship. The company already had removed black workers' time cards from the rack, but clerks hurriedly replaced the cards, and the shift changed without incident.³⁰

While the case was being argued in court, the Boilermakers' auxiliary policy also was being investigated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Commission. President Roosevelt established FEPC in the summer of 1941 in response to a plan by a group of prominent blacks, led by Sleeping Car Porters Union head A. Philip Randolph, to stage a massive march on Washington to protest discrimination in defense employment and the federal government. Only after Roosevelt agreed to form a federal commission to monitor enforcement of non-discrimination policies in federal contracts and government civil service did Randolph call off the march. The President's order allowed FEPC to hold hearings, write reports and issue orders and recommendations. But the commission had no independent authority to punish wrong-doers either by criminal, civil or administrative penalties or by canceling contracts.³¹

In mid-November, 1943, the commission held hearings in Portland and Los Angeles to investigate complaints about Boilermaker auxiliaries by black workers in Pacific Northwest and southern California shipyards. Yard operators, including Kaiser and

Bechtel, argued they were caught in the middle of a fight between blacks and the union. The Boilermakers simply refused to testify before the commission. During the Marinship strike later that month, FEPC Chairman Malcolm Ross asked union and management to delay lay-offs until the commission issued its report. Nothing came of Ross' request, and on December 14, 1943 FEPC announced a decision that was a blow to the union cause. The Boilermakers were ordered to "eliminate all membership practices which discriminate against workers because of race or color," and five employers, including Bechtel's Calship, were prohibited from enforcing closed shop provisions which contributed to such discrimination. However, the employers appealed the decision, and the appeal procedure, necessitating new briefs and hearings, took a year to complete. In the meantime, the commission suspended its order.³²

Malcolm Ross hoped he could persuade the Boilermakers to change their membership policies at the union's International Convention, scheduled for the end of January, 1944 in Kansas City. This also was the hope of those attending a mass meeting in Oakland on January 23. C. L. Dellums, Joe James and committee attorney George Anderson were among the speakers at the Oakland gathering. Business agents for the Stage Riggers and Pile Drivers described their unions' open membership rules, and Ray Stewart, a white Boilermaker, contended that "abolishing auxiliaries will benefit the union as much as the Negro." Apparently, Stewart spoke for at least some of his white co-workers. East Bay Boilermakers Local 681 had passed a resolution requesting the convention to allow full membership "without regard to race, color, creed, national origin or sex." Of six thousand signatures gathered at Bay Area shipyards in support of the resolution, about seventy-five percent came from white workers.³³

The convention received a similar appeal from



Ed Rainbow, Local 6 business agent and Eugene Small (below) in 1943. Both photos are reproduced from the Marin-er.



twenty-two prominent black citizens. AFL President William Green criticized job discrimination in general terms from the convention floor, and delegates heard much the same thing from President Roosevelt via telegram.³⁴ But incoming Boilermaker President Charles MacGowan already had made his position clear. "One of the greatest causes contributing to the failure of the Negro to advance farther," MacGowan explained, "is the professional Negro."³⁵ MacGowan had invited Malcolm Ross to the convention, and the FEPC chairman described his experiences in Kansas City with something less than enthusiasm: "So it happened that a bureaucrat, minced up into little pieces, was served during a several hour ceremony to the International officers and heads of lodges as a hors d'oeuvre to whet appetites for the main racial dish."³⁶

Much the same thing happened to Local 681's resolution. In the end, the convention liberalized membership rules only to the extent that auxiliaries were allowed to elect delegates to future conventions and to local metal trades councils. In addition, blacks henceforth would receive equal union insurance benefits. But auxiliaries remained something less than full union locals and blacks something less than full union members.³⁷ The convention did break precedent by allowing a black auxiliary leader, William Smith from Richmond, to address the delegates. Smith welcomed the rule changes and promised whites "we will do our best to be worthy of your trust." That statement must have reinforced President MacGowan's conviction that the auxiliary problem was "not within the membership but with professional agitation attempting to make a cause where none exists."³⁸

This was not the view of Judge Butler of the Marin Superior Court. On February 17, 1944 Butler announced his decision in what now was known as the case of *James v. Marinship*. Butler ruled that the Boilermakers' policy of "discriminating against and segregating Negroes into auxiliaries is contrary to

public policy of the state of California," and he prohibited the union from requiring blacks to join auxiliaries as a condition of employment. The judge also barred Marinship from laying off workers who refused to pay auxiliary dues. As far as Butler was concerned, if the Boilermakers wished to retain closed shop privileges, they must "admit Negroes as members on the same terms and conditions as white persons."³⁹

Both union and management appealed this decision to the California Supreme Court, and it took nearly a year for the state's highest court to decide the case. In the meantime, the Boilermakers did not accept blacks as full members, but the union could not require auxiliary membership as a condition of employment at Marinship. Judge Butler's decision did not apply to other yards, but during 1944, cases similar to the Marinship suit were brought in various Bay Area courts. Continued attempts by FEPC Chairman Ross to achieve a voluntary settlement failed, so the matter was not resolved until the State Supreme Court announced its final decision on January 2, 1945.

The court's unanimous opinion, written by Chief Justice Phil Gibson, was a decisive defeat for the Boilermakers. The union had argued that it was not guilty of discrimination, since blacks were paid equal wages and had equal, though separate, status in auxiliaries. The justices did not dispute the contention of equal wages, but found that it was "readily apparent that the membership offered to Negroes is discriminatory and unequal." The union also contended the case was moot because various federal agencies, particularly the FEPC, were investigating the matter. The court responded that since the commission's powers were limited, "it is not a complete or adequate administrative remedy."⁴⁰

Joseph James, 1942

The Supreme Court agreed with Judge Butler that the auxiliary practice violated the California statute that held racial discrimination “contrary to public policy.” The union had argued that this statute applied only to discrimination in public places and services, not to voluntary associations such as labor organizations. But Gibson concluded that when such an organization achieves a closed shop contract controlling access to labor, it affects an individual’s “fundamental right to work for a living” and thus the union occupies a “quasi-public position.” The court explained that it was not outlawing the concept of closed shop *per se*, but that “an arbitrarily closed union is incompatible with a closed shop.”⁴⁴

The court also refused to let management off the hook. Marinship asserted that it was simply enforcing terms of a federally-approved labor contract and could not be held responsible for union discrimination. But Justice Gibson pointed out that the company had “full knowledge of the dispute and at least indirectly assisted the union in carrying out discrimination.” By the same token, Local 6 could not argue that it only enforced national union policies over which it had no control. “The true rule is, of course, that the agent is liable for his acts.”⁴²

The San Francisco *Chronicle* hailed the decision as confirmation of the principle of “no representation, no dues.” The *Marin Citizen* said the ruling “should be welcomed by every believer in genuine trade unionism,” while the Communist *People’s World* emphasized that the court had outlawed discrimination, not the closed shop. Joe James made the same point, contending that his supporters had waged the battle “strictly on a pro-union basis.” By this time, James had been elected president of the San Francisco NAACP branch and proclaimed that the organization was “in the forefront of every fight against open shop proposals.”⁴³

James also thanked white workers who had sup-



ported his cause. He explained that both the NAACP and the Committee Against Segregation and Discrimination were inter-racial groups, and that many whites had signed petitions, donated money and discussed the issues with their fellow workers. At Moore shipyard, Katherine Archibald reported that the union’s initial 1943 victory in federal court “aroused the rejoicing of several of my [white] colleagues.” But the final decision of the State Supreme Court in 1945 gave blacks “status as a people in the

eyes of their white companions." There might be mutterings of discontent, "but the decision was respected and the conviction grew that the law at least . . . was on the side of the black man." One white worker conceded, "I guess we can't keep hold of all the jobs."⁴⁴

A few days before the court decision was announced, the FEPC released its final ruling on the appeals of the five shipyard cases in southern California and the Pacific Northwest. As expected, the commission reaffirmed its order of a year earlier that black workers could not be fired or denied employment for refusing to pay auxiliary dues. During the trial of the James case, commission chairman Ross found it ironic that union and management argued that the case was moot since it was being handled by FEPC. This, said Ross, was "a solemn plea, coming from parties who had informed FEPC that it had no authority and could go jump in the lake." Ross believed the court decision "went far beyond" the commission ruling and "knocked the pins from under the defense of the shipyards and the Boilermakers."⁴⁵

The union announced it would obey the decision and abolish its California auxiliaries. But in their place, the Boilermakers intended to form "separate but equal" local lodges. Blacks would be given full membership rights but would be required to join all-black locals. However, black Boilermakers could only transfer to black locals, thus limiting their job mobility within the union. Whether this would have passed the judicial test will never be known, since the union made serious efforts to establish "separate but equal" locals for only a short time. A 1948 study found that all Boilermaker lodges in the Bay Area were racially integrated.⁴⁶

James v. Marinship, then, produced important changes in Boilermaker membership practices. Ironically, very few blacks were ultimately able to take

advantage of that fact. In 1944, Local 6 had 36,000 members, including about 3000 blacks theoretically in segregated auxiliaries. In 1948 the local was racially integrated but had only 1800 members of whom just 150 were black.⁴⁷ Even by the time of the Supreme Court decision, work was declining in Bay Area shipyards. The Allies clearly were winning the war, and the government began cutting back contracts. Between January, 1944 and January, 1945, total Bay Area shipyard employment fell from about 240,000 to 200,000. Black employment in the yards continued to increase slightly during that year, (from 24,000 to 26,000), but after January, 1945, the black workforce also rapidly declined. It was 20,000 in July, 12,000 in September and an "insignificant number" by mid-1946.⁴⁸

At Marinship total employment in April, 1945 was about half of what it had been a year before. In May, Marin City housing was opened to non-Marinship workers for the first time. Company fortunes seemed to improve with the signing of new contracts to build barges for the invasion of Japan, but the Japanese surrender in August ended work on that project. The Maritime Commission asked Bechtel to continue running the yard, but the company refused, explaining that in peacetime it would not operate a government enterprise "in competition with privately-owned plants." Bechtel also declined to buy the yard, so on May 16, 1946 Marinship formally closed. Most significant work had ended several months earlier.⁴⁹

The meaning of the decline in Bay Area shipbuilding for the black workforce is graphically described in Cy Record's story, "Willie Stokes at the Golden Gate," published in 1949. Willie came to the Bay Area from Arkansas during the war and got a job as a welder at Kaiser, ultimately earning \$10 a day. After the war, he was laid off, and by June 1946 was fortunate to be making \$6.40 a day as an un-

skilled laborer. A year later he was unemployed. Stokes found it "funny almost. One day you are an essential worker in a vital industry (they said that in speeches every time they launched a ship) and the next you were a surplus unskilled laborer, essential to no one." One sympathetic employer explained, "in most cases your wartime experiences will mean very little. During the war, wage costs weren't important and the system of classification by skills was all out of whack . . . the government was footing the bill." Now businesses were only hiring workers with high school diplomas, a credential Willie Stokes did not possess. In fact, a 1950 study found that only about twenty percent of black wartime migrants to the Bay Area over twenty-five years old had graduated from high school; half had not even finished the eighth grade.⁵⁰

It was a classic case of "last hired, first fired." During the war, about seventy-five percent of black heads of households in San Francisco were classified as skilled industrial workers, the great majority in the shipyards. By 1948 only about twenty-five percent of black workers were still in industrial jobs, while over half were employed as unskilled laborers or service workers. More than fifteen percent of Bay Area black men were unemployed in 1948, nearly three times the state-wide rate for all persons. Only in government and clerical jobs had blacks managed to hold their wartime vocational gains, but the number of people in these categories was small. The United States Department of Employment noted that "as long as Negroes are commonly regarded as marginal labor, they will suffer very heavy unemployment when sufficient white labor is available."⁵¹

In this situation, it was hardly surprising that some blacks left the Bay Area after the war, including Joe James who returned to New York to pursue his singing career. Yet an estimated eighty-five percent of the wartime migrants stayed, their numbers

increased by their newborn children and by new, post-war migrations from the South. By 1950 San Francisco's black population had grown to over 40,000, by 1960 to nearly 75,000. As Lester Granger had warned, much of the Fillmore became a black "ghetto" as did Marin City, surrounded by some of the most prosperous white suburbs in America.⁵²

Back in 1945 Joe James believed he had identified a pattern in California's treatment of minority migrants: "we need them, we use them, when we are through with them, we banish them."⁵³ Wartime blacks were needed and used, but not banished. Thousands of Willie Stokeses still live in the Bay Area, as do their children and grandchildren. They, along with growing numbers of Latinos and Asians, may soon give California a "Third World" population majority. In San Francisco many of the old, white craft unions have declined along with the industries they serve. The largest union in the city today is the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, and its members are mostly of Asian, Afro-American and Latin American origin.

The problems of black poverty, unemployment and lack of economic opportunity identified after World War II have become chronic for a large portion of the region's non-white population. Of course, this situation is by no means unique to the Bay Area. But the area's experience is unusual in that the beginnings of its large black population are so directly tied to the short-term boom in a single industry. As long as the wartime shipyards operated at or near capacity, blacks had access to well-paying jobs. In the midst of the national emergency and regional labor shortage, they even won the legal principle of equal membership in exclusive craft unions. But the precipitous decline of the shipyards after the war was an eco-

nomic disaster from which the region's black population has never fully recovered. Even the protests, civil rights legislation and anti-poverty measures of the 1960s did not produce economic opportunity comparable to World War II.

Nathan I. Huggins is correct when he says that wartime migration created the Bay Area's first black bourgeoisie, for only with the migration was there enough population to support black lawyers, doctors, teachers and entrepreneurs. But Douglas Daniels makes the equally important point that the war also created the region's first black proletariat.⁵⁴ During the 1940s, these workers won battles that established important legal principles, but they have yet to win an equitable share of the region's wealth and power.

All of the photographs are courtesy of the Sausalito Historical Society.

Notes

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2. Joseph James, "Profiles, San Francisco," *Journal of Educational Sociology* (November, 1945), 168; Neil Wynn, *Afro-Americans and the Second World War* (London, 1976), 61; Cy Record, "Willie Stokes at the Golden Gate," *Crisis* (June, 1949), 176; Charles Johnson, *Negro War Workers in San Francisco, a Local Self-Survey* (San Francisco, 1944), 2-4.
3. Johnson, "Negro War Workers," 63; Record, "Willie Stokes," 177.
4. One recent work that does deal with the migration is Edward France, *Some Aspects of the Migration of the Negro to the San Francisco Bay Area Since 1940* (San Francisco, 1974). For recent works dealing with the pre-war black experience see, Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites*; Rudolph Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California* (New Haven, 1977) and Lawrence de Graaf, "City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto," *Pacific Historical Review* (August, 1970), 323-352. Best of the 1940s studies are, Johnson, *Negro War Worker*; Record, "Willie Stokes," and James, "Profiles."
5. Richard Finnie, *Marinship: the History of a Wartime Shipyard* (San Francisco, 1947), 1-7; Marinship Corporation, *Marinship* (Sausalito, 1944), 20; Sausalito News, March 19, 1942.
6. Finnie, *Marinship*, 39-54; Davis McEntire and Julia R. Tarnopol, "Postwar Status of Negro Workers in the San Francisco Area," *Monthly Labor Review* (June, 1950), 613; James, "Profiles," 168.
7. Finnie, *Marinship*, 62-68; Persis White and Sarah Hayne, "Marin City, a Social Problem to Marin County," in Mills College, *Immigration and Race Problems* (Oakland, 1954), 318-334.
8. *Marin Citizen*, February 23, 1945; unidentified article in "Race Relations on the Pacific Coast," Carey McWilliams papers, v. 5, Bancroft Library; Johnson, *Negro War Workers*, 33.
9. Finnie, *Marinship*, 69.
10. Johnson, *Negro War Workers*, 20-30; James, "Profiles," 168-173; Horace Clayton, "New Problem for the West Coast," *Chicago Sun*, October 14, 1943.
11. *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 19, 1945.
12. C. L. Dellums, *International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Civil Rights Leader*, oral history, Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library (Berkeley, 1973), 97-99; James, "Profiles," 169; Johnson, *Negro War Workers*, 63; France, *Some Aspects*, 67-68.
13. Katherine Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard, a Study in Social Disunity*, (Berkeley, 1947), 59-74.
14. *Master Agreement Between the Pacific Coast Shipbuilders and the Metal Trades Department, AFL*, (Seattle, 1941), 4-6.
15. Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites*, 31-42; Robert Knight, *Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Bay Area 1910-1918* (Berkeley, 1960), 213, 303, 315, 339, 361; James, "Profiles," 169; Johnson, *Negro War Workers*, 18, 70.
16. Thurgood Marshall, "Negro Status in the Boilermakers Union," *Crisis* (March, 1944), 77; Herbert Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro* (New York, 1944), 213-214; Ray Marshall, *The Negro Worker* (New York, 1967), 61.
17. Record, "Willie Stokes," 177; Johnson, *Negro War Workers*, 71; Ray Marshall, *Negro Worker*, 62.
18. *James v. Marinship*, 25 Cal., 2nd, 726 (1945); Johnson, *Negro War Workers*, 71.
19. *Marin-er* (October 16, 1942), 1; (August 21, 1943), 4; *American Labor Citizen*, December 6, 1943; *People's World*, January 6, 1945.
20. *Marin-er*, (August 21, 1943), 4-6.
21. *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco Examiner*, *People's World*, November 24, 1943.

22. *People's World, Chronicle*, November 25, 1943.
23. *San Rafael Daily Independent*, November 27, 1943; *Chronicle, Examiner*, November 28, 1943.
24. *Chronicle, Examiner*, November 28, 1943; *American Labor Citizen*, December 6, 1943.
25. *American Labor Citizen*, Dec. 6, 1943; *People's World*, November 30, 1943.
26. Finnie, *Marinship*, 213-214.
27. *Daily Independent*, November 29, 30, 1943; *People's World, Chronicle*, November 30, 1943; *Sausalito News*, December 2, 1943.
28. *Daily Independent, Chronicle, Marin Citizen*, December 3, 1943; *People's World*, December 4, 1943.
29. *Daily Independent*, December 13, 14, 1943, January 6, 1944; *People's World*, December 14, 15, 1943, January 7, 1944; *Marin Citizen*, December 17, 1943, January 7, 1944.
30. *Daily Independent*, January 12, 14, 1944; *People's World*, January 13, 15, 1944; *Marin Citizen*, January 21, 1944.
31. For background on FEPC see, Robert Weaver, *Negro Labor: a National Problem* (New York, 1946), 131-152; Herbert Garfinkel, *When Negroes March* (Glencoe, Ill., 1959), 38-75; Richard Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts* (Columbia, Mo., 1969), 115-123; Neil Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War*, (London, 1976), 38-48.
32. Fair Employment Practices Commission, "Press Release," (San Francisco, December 14, 1943); "Decision on Re-hearing, Cases 43, 44, 49, 50, 54" (Washington, 1945) 1-2; *Final Report* (Washington, 1946), 19-21.
33. *People's World*, January 17, 20, 25, 27, 1944; *California Eagle*, January 20, 27, 1944.
34. *People's World*, February 8, 9, 14, 1944.
35. *Boilermakers Journal*, (November, 1943), 295.
36. Malcolm Ross, *All Manner of Men* (New York, 1948), 147.
37. *Boilermakers Journal*, (March, 1944), 73-79; *People's World*, February 1, 14, 1944; *Marin Citizen*, February 11, 1944; Weaver, *Negro Labor*, 228-229.
38. *People's World*, February 14, 1944; *American Labor Citizen*, March 27, 1944.
39. *Chronicle, Marin Citizen*, February 18, 1944; *People's World*, February 18, 19, 1944; *California Eagle*, February 24, 1944.
40. *James v. Marinship*, 737, 744-745.
41. *Ibid.*, 731-740.
42. *Ibid.*, 742, 745. The decision also settled the similar cases affecting other Bay Area yards instituted after Judge Butler's ruling.
43. *Chronicle*, January 3, 4, 1945; *Marin Citizen*, January 5, 1945; *California Eagle*, January 4, 1945; *People's World*, January 3, 4, 5, 6, 1945.
44. Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 92, 96-97; *People's World*, January 12, 1945.
45. Ross, *All Manner of Men*, 150-151; FEPC, "Decision on Re-hearing," 1-11; *Final Report*, 21.
46. Fred Stripp, "The Relationships of the San Francisco Bay Area Negro-American Worker With the Labor Unions Affiliated With the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations," Th.D. Thesis, Pacific School of Religion, (Berkeley, 1948), 164-169; Weaver, *Negro Labor*, 230.
47. Stripp, "Relationships," 166.
48. Record, "Willie Stokes," 177.
49. *Marin Citizen*, March 30, May 4, 1945; Finnie, *Marinship*, 361-371.
50. Record, "Willie Stokes," 175-179; McEntire and Tarnopol, "Post-War Status," 613.
51. Record, "Willie Stokes," 179.
52. *Ibid.*, 187; *Chronicle*, September 19, 1945, June 16, November 17, 1947, August 29, 1948; Tom Rose and John Kirich, *The San Francisco Non-White Population 1950-1960* (San Francisco, n.d.), 3-4; White and Hayne, "Marin City;" Ottol Krebs, "The Post-War Negro in San Francisco," in *American Communities*, v. 2 (Mills College, Oakland, 1949), 549-586.
53. James, "Profiles," 176.
54. Huggins, "Introduction" and Daniels, "Preface" in Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites*, xv, xvii.

Edward D. Baker and California's First Republican Campaign

By 1854 party policies regarding the slavery issue had caused many unhappy Whigs and Democrats across the United States to seek new political affiliations. Consequently, some of these disenchanted politicians, in hand with party rank-and-file, had shifted their allegiance to the fledgling American Party.¹ Other partyless souls, repelled by the Know-Nothings' exclusionist doctrine, sought political ties that would allow them to express their anti-slavery sentiments. That year these former Whigs and Democrats coalesced on the slavery issue and formed a new political organization sectional in composition and belief, the Republican Party.

From its midwestern birthplace in 1854, the Republican Party promoted a platform opposed to slavery's expansion into the territories. Increasing its membership yearly, the party flourished in the anti-slave North; and by 1856 Californians witnessed the planting of the Republican seed in their state.

Founded in March 1856, the California Republican Party began humbly. Among its few early members was Cornelius Cole, a middle-aged former New Yorker who had studied law in the office of a leading anti-slavery advocate, William H. Seward.² In his memoirs Cole recalled the party's lackluster early days in California:

In Sacramento, where I resided, the party, at its inception, was extremely limited in numbers. No record, I venture to say, can be found of a political organization starting out with fewer adherents. There were C. P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, Leland Stanford, Edwin B. and Charles Crocker, all personal as well as political friends of mine. There were not, for some time, besides these, as many as could be counted on one's fingers.³

Despite its small membership the party held its

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first mass meeting only six weeks after its inception. At that Sacramento rally, openly hostile Democrats and Whigs in the audience created such a loud disturbance that the Republican speaker could not be heard. Pleas for quiet went unheeded, and the meeting soon broke up, in reality before it had commenced.⁴

Undaunted by this inauspicious beginning, California Republicans held their first state convention eleven days later, on April 30, in Sacramento's Congregational Church. Only thirteen of the state's forty counties were represented, however, and of the 125 delegates present sixty-five were from San Francisco or Sacramento.⁵ The minimal attendance did not prevent the delegates from accomplishing the business at hand. They adopted as a fundamental party principle a resolution forbidding slavery in all federal territories and likewise proposed the immediate construction of a national railroad that would connect the eastern United States with San Francisco Bay.⁶

Significantly, the gathering attracted local newspaper coverage. On May 2, the *Sacramento Daily Union*, aware of the city's ongoing Republican convention, printed a timely analysis of the neophyte organization:

But a new experiment is springing up, not entirely based on incipient Whiggery, but on sectionalism. It is plain, even at this early date, that it must become the party of the state opposed to Democracy—of which it possesses not an element as it is a contemner of the Confederacy.⁷

Meanwhile, Cornelius Cole dutifully reported the California party's brief history and assessed its future in letters to two associates. To E.D. Morgan of New York Cole wrote on May 3:

The Republican party in this state was taken [born] in this place [Sacramento] on the 8th of March & though small at first it has already assumed manly proportions & is increasing rapidly.



The ex-Whig and eloquent advocate of Republicanism, Edward D. Baker.

Both the other parties (if the American party may yet be said to have an existence, it may resuscitate) are divided into northern and southern wings and the tendency of our organization & our hope is to effect a divorce of those elements.⁸

With the new party's national nominating convention scheduled for June, Cole, in the same letter, reported that

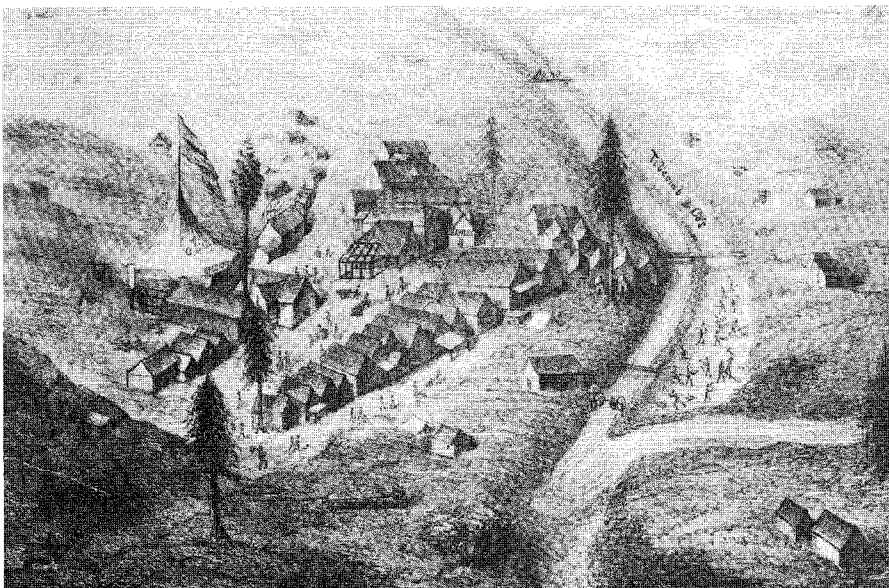
the clear choice of the Republicans of California for President is . . . Wm. Seward. Yet our delegates [to the Philadelphia convention] will not urge the nomination of the Gentleman unless his election would be quite certain.⁹

That same day Cole also wrote optimistically to his friend Seward:

We [Republicans] have held our state convention. . . . The movement has found encouragement quite beyond expectation. We have all the elements here of a powerful opposition to slavery aggression. The only difficulty is in combining and concentrating them, and this we hope to do under the Republican flag. . . .¹⁰

In June 1856 Republican delegates, including those from California, met in Philadelphia and selected the soldier-explorer John C. Fremont as their White House hopeful.¹¹ That Fremont gained the nomination because of his availability as a candidate, and not because of any demonstrated personal fitness for the high office, showed that Republican leaders did not expect a November victory.¹² Nevertheless, most Republicans were enthused at the mere prospect of having a bona fide presidential nominee in the campaign. California party members reacted similarly.

Several weeks after the Philadelphia convention, news reached California of the Fremont candidacy. The California Republican organization quickly adopted the campaign slogan "Freedom, Fremont and Railroad." In turn, on August 15, 1856, Cornelius Cole founded the *Daily California Times* in his small office at 52 K Street.¹³ Destined to become the state's Republican campaign organ, the *Times* proudly proclaimed it would "advocate the speedy



Baker's stumping tour for Frémont in 1856 took him to Downieville and other such Mother Lode mining settlements.

construction of the Pacific Railway, sustain the policy of the Republican Party and consequently support John C. Fremont for President.”¹⁴ In its third issue the paper reported: “Col. E. D. Baker: We hear it announced on pretty good authority that this gentleman, now in this city, has announced his intention to support Fremont and the Pacific Railroad in the coming contest.”¹⁵

Colonel Edward Dickinson Baker was a forty-one year old English-born Mexican War veteran and former Congressman from Illinois who had come to California in 1852. On arriving he established a successful law practice and simultaneously pursued his political interests in San Francisco. Regarded as one of the era’s greatest public speakers, Baker lent his oratorical skill to the Whig Party and following its demise to the new Republican organization. In June 1856, Baker unhappily had departed San Francisco, having fought a five month legal and verbal battle with much of the city’s pro-vigilante populace. Baker’s defense of a known gambler in a murder trial and subsequent outspoken criticism of vigilante-inspired mob rule had caused a majority of the citizenry to look unfavorably on the previously popular attorney-politician.¹⁶

By the time he arrived in Sacramento that summer Baker’s feelings regarding San Francisco’s vigilantes and their outlaw courts remained unchanged. Politically, however, he had undergone a metamorphosis. Realizing that the Whig Party had breathed its last, Baker found Republican principles compatible and emerged, as Cole’s paper announced, a Republican supporter. Though the distinguished Colonel was not among the party’s founders, years later Cole noted Baker’s vital role during the state party’s infancy:

From an early stage in the new party’s existence in California it was so fortunate to have in its ranks two of the most powerful orators this country has ever pro-

duced, Frederick P. Tracy and Edw. D. Baker. . . . The two did more than any others towards giving a character and strength to the party.¹⁷

In addition, Cole described Baker as the man who contributed most to the anti-slavery movement in California. Said Cole to an interviewer, “Baker was really the father of the Republican Party in this state.”¹⁸

Shortly after his arrival in Sacramento, Baker became involved actively in the Fremont campaign. On August 27, he addressed “one of the largest political meetings ever held in Sacramento.”¹⁹ Speaking before a largely Republican audience at the Orleans Hotel, Baker “was received with . . . enthusiastic applause, which at intervals during . . . his eloquent and soul-stirring address, was continued.”²⁰ The anti-Republican *Sacramento Journal*, on the other hand, viewed the gathering less favorably:

The convention of Nigger worshippers assembled yesterday in this city [Sacramento]! This is the first time this dangerous fanaticism has dared bare its breast before the people of California. [Apparently the writer had forgotten the city’s Republican convention earlier that spring.] Heretofore it has skulked in dark corners, denied its own identity and kept in the background. It is high time that all national men should unite in saving California from the stain of abolitionism.²¹

Following his address at the Orleans Hotel, Baker departed Sacramento (on August 29) for the small towns and mining camps of Northern California’s Mother Lode to bring the Republican message to both townsfolk and prospectors. The Colonel’s mission, to garner support for Republican principles, Fremont and the party’s two Congressional candidates, would be a difficult one given the certainty of Democratic and Know-Nothing competition statewide and the fact that Baker’s party was conducting its initial campaign in California. In addition, cam-

paigning in and of itself, regardless of one's political ties, was a difficult task.

Edward Baker's stumping tour in 1856 closely resembled other political crusades then occurring across rural mid-century America. As they strove to reach remote areas, campaigning politicians, Baker included, were compelled to travel on horseback or buckboard over rutted, dusty roads and crude trails, were exposed to sweltering summer heat or sudden cloud bursts, lodged in rustic hotels or even more rustic tents, and addressed crowds two or three times daily with nothing more than their often-hoarse voices to project their lengthy speeches. To campaign in the rugged Mother Lode and in the numerous rural towns of Northern California, a man needed a sturdy horse, a fit body, and a strong voice. As he rode from Sacramento to Marysville, the first stop on his stumping tour, Baker undoubtedly contemplated the rigorous days and weeks of speaking ahead. He probably wondered also how the populace would receive him as a representative of the Republican party.

Once in Marysville, Baker addressed a large and respectable group of citizens near the Western Hotel. In his speech, the Colonel refuted "in a masterly manner the charge of sectionalism and abolitionism as applied to the Republicans and [showed] how the opposition to the extension of slavery was strictly in accordance with the Constitution. . . ." ²² Later in his address Baker discussed the benefits to California of the proposed Pacific Railroad. ²³ The pro-Democratic *Marysville Express* evaluated Baker's ending remarks:

We have never heard a more brilliant peroration than that which enchained the large audience at the close of Col. Baker's speech . . . but a deep gloom settled upon the countenances of a large portion of the audience, evidently caused by regret, that one endowed with such God-like abilities should prostitute them in a cause so unholy. ²⁴

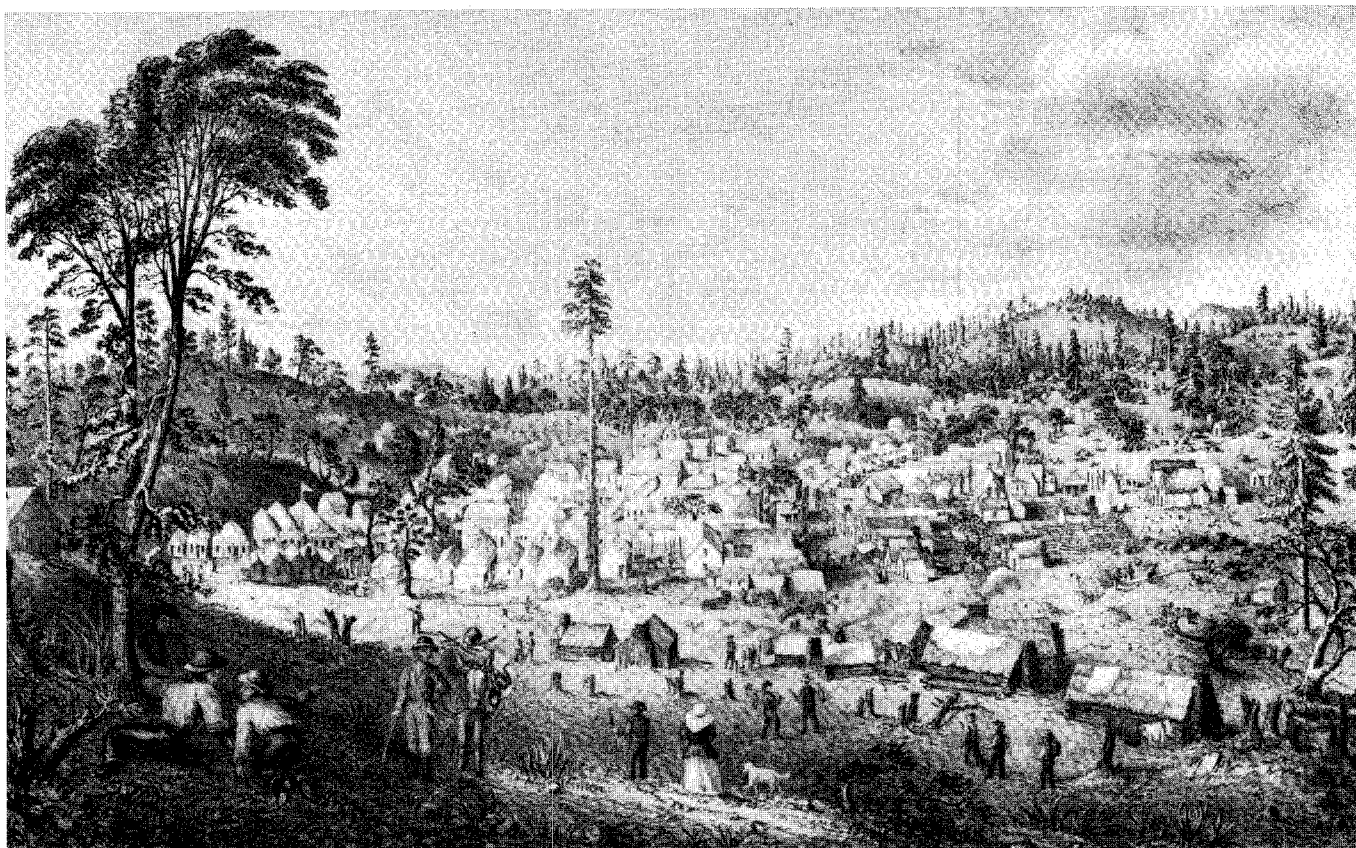
On September 1 Baker delivered another speech in front of Oroville's United States Hotel. For two hours he held the multitude captive with enthralling passages and then won their hearts when he recognized some listeners from Illinois with whom he had served in the Mexican War. ²⁵ The next scheduled Republican orator, Wilson Flint, announced that since eloquence itself had been exhausted (due to Baker's fine rhetoric) he (Flint) would not speak. After his encouraging performance and reception in Oroville, Baker returned to Sacramento, probably to rest and to attend a Republican meeting slated for September 5.

At that meeting the Colonel gave a brief account of his recent speaking tour and made a few practical political suggestions to the audience. He took particular care to emphasize the necessity of a continued Republican effort in the campaign, despite the overwhelming odds. Following this political huddle in Sacramento Baker prepared to resume the canvass.

On September 6 the Colonel left for Placerville, a small town east of Sacramento. There, he lectured a Republican mass meeting for two and one-half hours. The *Times* reported that Baker's eloquence was cheered loudly and boldly predicted that "if our party can keep Col. Baker . . . in the field till the 4th of November [election day] the success of Fremont in this State is as certain as in almost any other State in the Union." ²⁶ Four days later, in Nevada City, Baker lectured on the "Principles of Republicanism." According to one listener, Baker

showed up the fallacy of southern men in their habitual cry of disunion . . . and . . . convinced every man present (for there [were] some northern men who fear the south will secede . . . if they are not allowed to extend slavery to free territory) that the man, the section, the state to raise the banner of disunion would never be found. ²⁷

Another observer noted:



The Republicans are in good spirits & I think their cause is gaining ground every day. E. D. Baker... delivered a most eloquent appeal in favor of Fremont... Others have been here [Nevada City] but Baker had double the audience that attended the other meetings.²⁸

In contrast, the *San Jose Tribune* noted that "The Col. [in his speeches] is now going whole hog... against every... bill that may allow certain rights to the South."²⁹

After leaving Nevada City, Baker, in the next several days, made speaking appearances in Petaluma, Forest City and Downieville. One incident in a rough mining camp near the latter town demonstrated the difficulties California Republicans faced in 1856 and how the Colonel's charismatic appeal sometimes swayed hostile audiences. An observer, Calvin McDonald, remembered that as Baker began his speech that day the crowd's initial silent reception revealed its opposition to the Colonel's stand. Baker spoke for one-half hour without any perceptible effect on the grizzled miners, and then, according to McDonald,

seeming to be gathering all his energies... [Baker] began to pace along the bench [from where he spoke], pouring out wave after wave [of oration]. At length something like a tremor ran through the silent throng... The men yelled for I don't know how long, and made a rush upon the platform; Baker and his bench were overthrown and when the orator had regained his stand, it was several minutes before he could be heard and go on with his triumphant speech.³⁰

Encouraged, Baker moved on and spoke at gatherings in Grass Valley, Mokelumne Hill, Camp Seco and San Andreas, all the while expounding the Freedom-Fremont-Railroad theme. If the Colonel anticipated a respite following his San Andreas appearance he was disappointed, for on October 22 the *Times* printed Baker's new itinerary:³¹

Yankee Jim's	Placer County	October 23
Sacramento	Orleans Hotel	October 24
Stockton	San Joaquin County	October 25
Sonora	Tuolumne County	October 27
Columbia	Tuolumne County	October 28

The following day, because of the great demand

Cornelius Cole, the editor of the Daily California Times and one of the California Republican party's founding fathers.

by state Republican groups, Cole's paper announced:

Col. E.D. Baker: This gentleman has numerous invitations from Republicans . . . of the state to address them, but he cannot be everywhere, and he desires us to state he is inclined to follow the line marked out by the State Central Committee.³²

According to the Republican Committee's schedule, the Colonel would speak in front of Sacramento's Orleans Hotel on Friday evening, October 24. With election day approaching, party leaders had anticipated a large crowd and had reserved the Forrest Theater in the event inclement weather prevented an outdoor gathering. That Friday morning, a cold, drizzling rain blanketed Sacramento, but within hours it had subsided, allowing the plans for an open-air meeting to proceed.³³ However, later that day, Baker, because of a voice impairment caused by two demanding months of speech-making, requested that the proceedings take place indoors, where projection would be less exacting. That evening before 1,500 attentive listeners (and in sharp contrast to the April meeting in which the Republican speaker was shouted down), Baker defended the doctrine of free labor, discussed free territory and vindicated Fremont against the "calumny and slander that [had] been so freely heaped upon him" during the campaign.³⁴ The affair, proclaimed a rousing success by Republican supporters, concluded with three tremendous cheers for Fremont and three more for Baker.³⁵

Greatly disappointed at missing Baker's speech, Olive Cole commented in her diary that same evening:

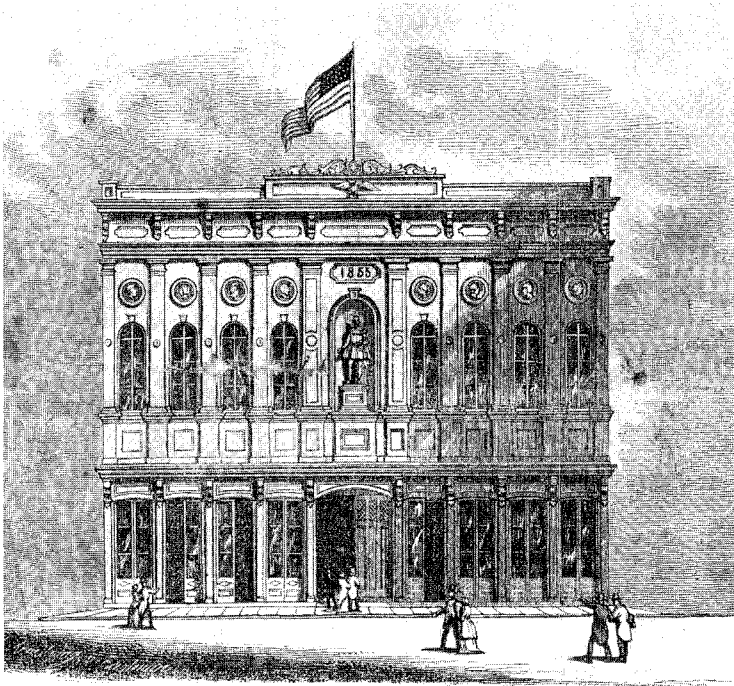
I expected to attend a Republican meeting at the Forrest Theater [tonight] but no one came for us in the rain. Col. Baker addressed the meeting. I felt anxious to hear the great Republican orator.³⁶



A week after his Forrest Theater appearance Baker (now dubbed the "Gray Eagle of Republicanism" because of his hair color and majestic presence on the podium) returned to San Francisco and discovered it was unlike the city he had left four months earlier. Its work completed, the Vigilance Committee had disbanded in August and most citizens were content to forget the frenzied days of lynchings and mob rule that had gripped their city. Baker's absence during the campaign probably was noticed by San Francisco's political observers and was certainly a calculated strategic step; Republican bosses had opted for less controversial orators, Frederick Tracy and Wilson Flint, to canvass there.

The Colonel's reappearance did not elicit any special comment from the *Alta*. Instead, under the caption "Republican Warhorse," the paper announced simply that Baker would address a Republican meeting that night on Sansome Street.³⁷ Likewise, Cole's *Times* attached no significance to Baker's journey to San Francisco.³⁸ By election day, though they may have read the *Alta's* favorable coverage of

The Forrest Theater, Sacramento, where Baker addressed 1500 listeners near the end of the campaign.



Baker's San Francisco speeches, most San Franciscans were concerned more about the voting.³⁹

Two weeks after the balloting California newspapers printed final election results. The returns showed a resounding, though not unexpected Democratic victory:

RESULTS OF THE 1856 CALIFORNIA PRESIDENTIAL
AND CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

	Democrat		Know-Nothing		Republican
President	Buchanan 53,365	Fillmore	36,165	Fremont	20,339
Congress	Scott 50,813	Whitman	36,058	Rankin	21,975
	McKibben 50,896	Dibble	35,376	Turner	21,164

Source: *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 18, 1856

In addition to capturing both Congressional seats, the Democrats also regained their majority in both houses of the state legislature; combined representation in the Senate and Assembly following the election was Democrats seventy-eight, Know-Nothings nineteen, Republicans fourteen.⁴⁰ Equally significant to the complete Democratic victory was the stunning defeat suffered by the Know-Nothings.

In 1855, because of their party's rapidly growing appeal, California Know-Nothings had looked ahead to the 1856 election and further success. Owing to the subsequent internal split over the slavery issue and the lack of discipline exhibited by

party members, most of whom possessed diverse political backgrounds and thus represented different factions, the Know-Nothings underwent a catastrophic and ultimately fatal setback in the 1856 elections. The voting only confirmed what party leaders and opponents had anticipated since the formal internal split earlier that year. Unlike the Know-Nothings, California Republicans had encountered primarily external problems.

An explanation for the difficulties the California Republican organization faced in the 1856 campaign was offered by Olive Cole when she wrote in her diary: "How could so new a party as the Republicans expect to be victorious?"⁴¹ As she realized, the infant party did not boast the necessary strong support that would enable it to compete successfully in a statewide election or sustain a Presidential candidate. In fact, during the campaign most Republican speakers, Baker included (despite his great appeal), often had addressed audiences composed of more political foes than allies. Nonetheless, as it reflected on the election, the party hierarchy was encouraged by the apparent Know-Nothing demise and the fact that statewide Republican candidates for national office had received nearly twenty percent of the vote. Nationwide, although the Democrat James Buchanan had won the Presidency, Republicans

"correctly diagnosed their loss as a victorious defeat, for they knew, if they could add Pennsylvania and either Indiana or Illinois to the bloc of states already captured, they would win the [Presidential] election [of 1860]."42

Thus as 1856 yielded to the new year the American political scene had evolved into a contest between the opposing ideologies of southern pro-slave Democrats and anti-slave Republicans. Anti-slave Democrats appeared trapped in the middle. Although California Know-Nothings would resurrect themselves briefly in 1857 the party's bubble had burst. In the coming months Know-Nothings nationwide would cast aside their exclusionist beliefs and join parties professing slavery sentiments compatible with their own. And, in so doing, they would contribute to the ongoing political polarization that would characterize the American political scene and ultimately result in civil war four years later.

For Baker, Cole and other California Republicans, 1856 had heralded the beginning of a new experiment. Their party, so humble in origin, had entered the fray nine months earlier and had survived. Baker and others had bolstered the party in this early round, giving it the impetus to wage future battles. Though a positive determination is impossible to render, Baker's work for the California Republican organization in 1856 (and in the next three years) played, as Cole gratefully noted, a major role in the party's success statewide. None could deny the Colonel's charm and seductive way with words; and even though he never held elective office in California, his work at the front lines among the miners in the diggin's and the well-dressed city-folk as well as his straightforward, logical approach to issues won supporters that otherwise may have opposed the Republicans.⁴³ The tireless work of Baker and others in 1856 and in subsequent campaigns, though

not immediately rewarded at the ballot box, provided the foundation that would allow Lincoln to carry California in 1860 enroute to the White House.

The photographs are courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Notes

1. Organized in 1854, the American or Know-Nothing Party promulgated an anti-Catholic, America-for-Americans doctrine. This philosophy appealed to many across the United States and by May 1854 even geographically remote California possessed a Know-Nothing organization. By January 1856 Know-Nothings temporarily had supplanted the Democrats as California's dominant political party. As a result of the 1855 election Know-Nothings boasted a majority in both houses of the California state legislature. In addition, their entire ticket of state officers had been elected. Peyton Hurt, "The Rise and Fall of the Know-Nothings in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* IX (June 1930), p. 107. Hereinafter cited as Hurt, "Rise and Fall."
2. Edward A. Dickson, "Lincoln and Baker: The Story of a Great Friendship," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* XXXIV (September 1952), p. 233. Hereinafter cited as Dickson, "Lincoln and Baker."
3. Cornelius Cole, *Memoirs of Cornelius Cole*, (New York: McLaughlin Brothers, 1908), pp. 112-113. Hereinafter cited as Cole, *Memoirs*.
4. Catherine Phillips, *Cornelius Cole - California Pioneer and United States Senator* (San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1928) p. 80. Hereinafter cited as Phillips, *Cole*. See also Dickson, "Lincoln and Baker," p. 234.
5. Phillips, *Cole*, p. 80 and Cole, *Memoirs*, p. 113.
6. Phillips, *Cole*, p. 80. Most Californians viewed the railroad proposal as the Republicans' most appealing idea.
7. *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 2, 1856, p. 2. Hereinafter cited as *Union*.
8. Cornelius Cole to E.D. Morgan, May 3, 1856, University of California at Los Angeles, Cornelius Cole Papers. The American Party's meteoric rise since 1854 was eclipsed by its internal struggles that had resulted in a dramatic weakening of the party's power by 1856.
9. *Ibid*.
10. Cole to Seward May 3, 1856, in Phillips, *Cole*, p. 82.
11. Owing to the sectional split within its ranks, the Know-

Nothing party's factions each nominated a Presidential candidate in 1856. The anti-slavery wing chose Fremont as its presidential standard-bearer while the southern Know-Nothing faction selected Millard Fillmore. Fremont, save for the Know-Nothing endorsement, was in no way associated with that organization.

12. See Ruhl Jacob Bartlett, *John C. Fremont and the Republican Party* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1930), p. 20 for a further discussion of the Fremont nomination. Remarking on Fremont's candidacy one prominent historian stated that Fremont "had no credentials as a Republican or as a political leader, and the Republican managers, . . . would not have nominated him if they thought they had any real chance of winning the election." David Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, edited by Don Fehrenbacher (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 260. Hereinafter cited as Potter, *Crisis*.
13. The only existing issues of the paper are in the Bancroft Library, University of California. Donated by Cole in 1878, the bound edition contains this inscription penned by the former editor: "I trust this volume may be carefully preserved as it is the only one of its kind, and may serve at some time to elucidate the Slavery question, and other political matters at a most interesting period in our history."
14. *Sacramento Daily California Times*, August 15, 1856, p. 2. Hereinafter cited as *Times*.
15. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1856, p. 3.
16. For a detailed discussion of Baker's eight years in California see Ray R. Albin, "The Gray Eagle: Colonel Edward Dickinson Baker in California 1852-1860" (Master's Thesis, San Jose State University, 1979).
17. Cole, *Memoirs*, p. 112. The Connecticut-born Tracy arrived in California in 1849 during the gold rush. He often had spoken from the same platform as Baker prior to the 1856 campaign and likewise had advocated free-soil principles. Later, Tracy served as San Francisco city attorney from 1857-1859.
18. Cole to Dickson, in Dickson, "Lincoln and Baker," p. 230.
19. *Times*, August 28, 1856, p. 3.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Sacramento Journal*, August 28, 1856, in Dickson, "Lincoln and Baker," p. 234.
22. This report of Baker's oration appeared in the *Marysville Herald* and was reprinted in the *Times* on September 5, 1856, p. 2. On August 27, 1856, the California Republican Party, in accordance with the Republican national platform, declared "that slavery in the slave states depends solely upon state laws for its existence; that Congress has no power to modify, change or repeal such laws and is not responsible therefore. We are, therefore opposed to all interference with slavery in the slave states." Phillips, *Cole*, p. 83.
23. In espousing the construction of a Pacific Railway, Baker reiterated a personal, long-standing interest in such a project. A pro-railroad speech by the Colonel appears in the *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, December 13, 1854, p. 2. Hereinafter cited as *Alta*.
24. Article from the *Marysville Express* reprinted in the *Times*, September 5, 1856, p. 2.
25. Article from the *Marysville Herald* reprinted in the *Times*, September 4, 1856, p. 2. Another paper commented on Baker's Oroville address: "The speech of Col. Baker was indeed a magnificent effort. Some of the finest passages we have ever heard were delivered by Col. Baker Monday [September 1]." Article from the *Butte Record* reprinted in the *Times*, September 9, 1856, p. 1.
26. Cole's partisan *Times* occasionally was over-zealous in its reporting and analysis of Republican events.
27. *Times*, September 16, 1856, p. 2.
28. Joel B. Knapp to Thomas O. Larkin, September 19, 1856, in George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers*, 20 vols. (Berkeley, California: The University of California Press, 1964), 9:304.
29. *San Jose Tribune*, September 17, 1856, p. 1.
30. Calvin McDonald in Oscar T. Shuck, ed., *History of the Bench and Bar in California* (Los Angeles: The Commercial Printing House, 1901), p. 435.
31. *Times*, October 22, 1856, p. 2.
32. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1856, p. 2.
33. Diary of Olive Cole, October 24, 1856. This journal, written by Cornelius Cole's wife, can be found at the University of California at Los Angeles Special Collections Library among the Cole Papers.
34. *Times*, October 25, 1856, p. 3.
35. Though its summary of the gathering lacked enthusiasm, the *Union* reported that Baker's speech "was a very plausible, attractive, exparte effort. . . ." *Union*, October 25, 1856, p. 2.
36. Diary of Olive Cole, October 24, 1856.
37. *Alta*, October 31, 1856, p. 2.
38. *Times*, November 2, 1856, p. 2.
39. *Alta*, November 1 and 2, 1856, p. 2.
40. Hurt, "Rise and Fall," p. 107. In reality Know-Nothings won only two state senate and eight assembly seats in 1856; the terms of the remaining nine state senators did not expire until 1857. The California Democratic party in 1856 had overlooked its internal differences and had wisely united in an attempt to thwart the Republican and Know-Nothing challenges.
41. Diary of Olive Cole, November 5, 1856.
42. Potter, *Crisis*, p. 265.
43. Baker was elected to the Senate in 1860, as an Oregonian.

REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

Portrait of the Golden State— The California State Library's Photography Collection

The California Section of the State Library in Sacramento possesses one of the oldest and most comprehensive photographic collections devoted to the Golden State. Its social, political and economic past is documented through 24,000 portraits, 25,000 views of places, events, and subjects, and several albums, portfolios, and books illustrated with original photographs. Although these numbers may not be as large as several institutions, it nonetheless includes images that will delight the historian, writer, museum curator, preservationist, and family historian.

Chronologically, the collection covers the state's past from the Gold Rush to the administration of Jerry Brown. Geographically, every section of California is represented as well as Oregon, Northern Nevada, and Arizona. Because of the library's location, photographs of Northern California predominate. As one would expect, the collection contains representation of a variety of subjects such as agriculture, architecture, business, industry, transportation, historic sites, protest movements, ethnic groups, costumes, sports, and natural disasters.

The following article will provide a general overview of the library's photographic holdings. It is by no means comprehensive but will hopefully tantalize the reader with the types of treasures found in the California Room.

Any discussion of California photographic collections however must begin with the Gold Rush era. This rough and ready time, of course, was documented by the silvery daguerreotype and glass ambrotype. Researchers will find in the California Section a number of these unique images of El Dorado.

The cornerstone of the collection is a spectacular series of eight open air daguerreotypes attributed to John B. Starkweather. Reproduced and published countless times, these mirror images represent perhaps

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This daguerreotype of Spanish Flat in 1852 is one of the most reproduced images in the California State Library. It is one in a series of eight Gold Rush daguerreotypes attributed to J. B. Starkweather.

the finest daguerrian record of the Mother Lode. In 1852, the obscure New Englander documented life in the diggings as he roamed through the hills and camps of Spanish Flat, Auburn Ravine, Sugar Loaf Hill and Nevada City. Importantly, his crystal clear quarter-plates show Blacks and Chinese working side-by-side their fellow Caucasian argonauts.

Several other daguerreotypes and equally rare ambrotypes of the gold country supplement the Starkweather series. Two half-plate mirror images depict sluicing operations and an unusual double ambrotype shows the placers near Bogus Creek in Siskiyou County.

Portraits of several "heroes and humbugs" such as Senator David C. Broderick and the "Lion of the Vigilantes" William T. Coleman are preserved on fragile ambrotypes. From the viewpoint of photographic history, the most important ambrotype in the collection is of William Herman Rulofson. The half-plate "daguerreotype on glass" depicts the bearded photographer leaning over the shoulder of a customer in his Sonora gallery. It is reputed to be the only image to survive from his early days in that Tuolumne

County town. Later, Rulofson would move to the more prosperous San Francisco, and under the name of Bradley and Rulofson direct the largest photographic publishing and supply house on the Pacific Coast.

By the 1860s, the wet-plate photograph eclipsed these gilt-edged mementoes from the "Days of Forty-Nine." Capable of mass reproduction and sale, these albumen photographs recorded the development of California until the 1890s. While hundreds of wet-plate photographers flourished, two celebrated artists, Carleton E. Watkins and Eadweard Muybridge, stand out as the giants of this era.

The California Section holds an immense selection of Watkins' photographs. Representative of his long and distinguished career, the collection ranges from small cartes-de-visite to huge mammoth-plate volumes. Among the more than 1800 items, highlights include a two volume set of mammoth-plates entitled "Photographs of California and Oregon;" some two hundred individual mammoth-plates on various subjects, and a curious three volume publication, "Photographic Views of One Hundred and Twelve of The Principal and Most Picturesque Places Of

C. W. J. Johnson is shown here holding a glass negative in his Monterey studio.

California" (1886). Unique to the State Library, the latter contains a specially printed title page and table of contents to the 8 x 12 inch prints.

While not as dramatic as the mammoth-plates, the Watkins stereo collection is impressive because of its broad scope. A Catalog compiled by his close friend and promoter, Charles B. Turrill, provides a remarkably definitive listing of the library's 1400 Watkins stereos.

Eadweard Muybridge, during the 1860s and 1870s, rivaled Watkins for acclaim in the field of California landscape photography. Known as the father of the motion picture, the Englishman created hundreds of brilliant views of California and the Pacific Coast. Important examples include a first edition of John Hittell's Yosemite Guide Book (1868) embellished with twenty diminutive photographs by "Helios;" an album of forty choice mammoth-plates of Yosemite probably taken on his 1872 excursion; several 16 x 20 inch views of the Hunter's Point Dry Dock in San Francisco and Mills College in Oakland; his celebrated 1877 panorama of San Francisco, and a splendid group of stereos of the Modoc Indian War. Certainly the most unusual item in the collection is an album entitled "The Pacific Coast of Central America and Mexico" (1876). It contains sixty 6 x 9 inch albumen photographs of that tropical land. Interestingly, the State Library acquired the copy Muybridge presented to Mrs. W. W. Pendergast, the widow of the photographer's defense attorney during his sensational murder trial.

While Watkins and Muybridge received the greatest recognition, the California Section has important examples by others less famous. Recently, it acquired a beautiful seven part panorama of Oakland in 1879 by Albert H. Wulzen. Others represented in the library's collection include Oscar V. Lange and I. W. Taber.

The three dimensional world of the stereograph provides perhaps the best visual documentation of nineteenth century California. Numbering over 3,000



items (excluding Watkins), these dual images cover a wide variety of subjects ranging from the Yosemite Valley to the construction of the transcontinental railroad. Conveniently, the library has arranged them by place, subject, and then by photographer. Access is gained through a useful subject and photographer index.

Two additional stereo collections devoted to San Jose and San Diego deserve mention. A recently acquired series of forty-nine glass stereographs depict the bustling streets of the Santa Clara Valley town in the mid 1870s. San Diego's emergence and charm during that same decade is preserved in an exceptional group of eighty views taken by Charles P. Fessenden. It includes a rare five part panorama of New Town. Both provide important historical documentation of the early development of these future urban centers.

Through a gift in 1920, the library received the photographic archive of Charles Wallace Jacob Johnson, recognized as the premier photographer of the Monterey Peninsula for the late nineteenth century. The collection consists of diaries, correspondence, glass negatives, stereos, cabinet cards and other

scenic views. The former argonaut and dance instructor came to Monterey in 1880 and focused his dry plate camera on the spectacular natural scenery of the peninsula, historic adobes, Hotel del Monte, and families enjoying the delights of this pleasure land. His views of the plush hotel and its formal gardens form the major portion of the collection.

By the turn of the century, a new era emerged in photography. The advent of flexible film, smaller cameras, improved lenses, and the capability of producing enlargements from small negatives gave rise to a new generation of photographers headed by Arnold Genthe and the pictorialist school. The soft images produced by their cameras combined technology with art. Although the library does not have any Genthe photographs, it acquired the collection of Louis J. Stellman, a San Francisco journalist who was clearly influenced by the master.

Consisting of over 16,000 negatives and prints, the Stellman collection continues the photographic record of San Francisco after Genthe left for New York in 1911. As with Genthe, San Francisco's Chinatown attracted the eye of this talented amateur. Carrying a compact detective camera, Stellman obtained hundreds of candid views of street scenes, families, merchants, parades, and such fun-loving activities as kite flying. Next to Genthe, Stellman's soft, romanticized photographs yielded the most valuable record of this transplanted Cathay.

The "City by the Bay" is further represented in two folio size albums compiled by Hamilton B. Dobbin. A former policeman, he pasted into his albums not only hundreds of views of street scenes but also photos of the sensational Boss Ruef graft trials, the 1920 Democratic National Convention, and the first woman to cast a vote in San Francisco.

Quite naturally, the library has amassed a sizable collection on Sacramento. Every major city, it seems, attracted a photographer of note. In the case of Sacramento, it was Harold J. McCurry. The library in

1964 had the good fortune of obtaining the best of McCurry's output. Consisting of over 2500 images spanning the years 1918 to 1948, the collection superbly chronicles Sacramento streets, businesses, public buildings, floods, river craft, bridges, parades, personalities, and World War II. As well, McCurry photographed many cities and towns in Northern California and such subjects as bridges, rivers, aqueducts and canals, agriculture, mining, shipping, aviation, railroads, trucks, automobiles, landmarks, missions, and the Yosemite Valley. The library also has a five volume index to the negatives produced by the photo company during these years.

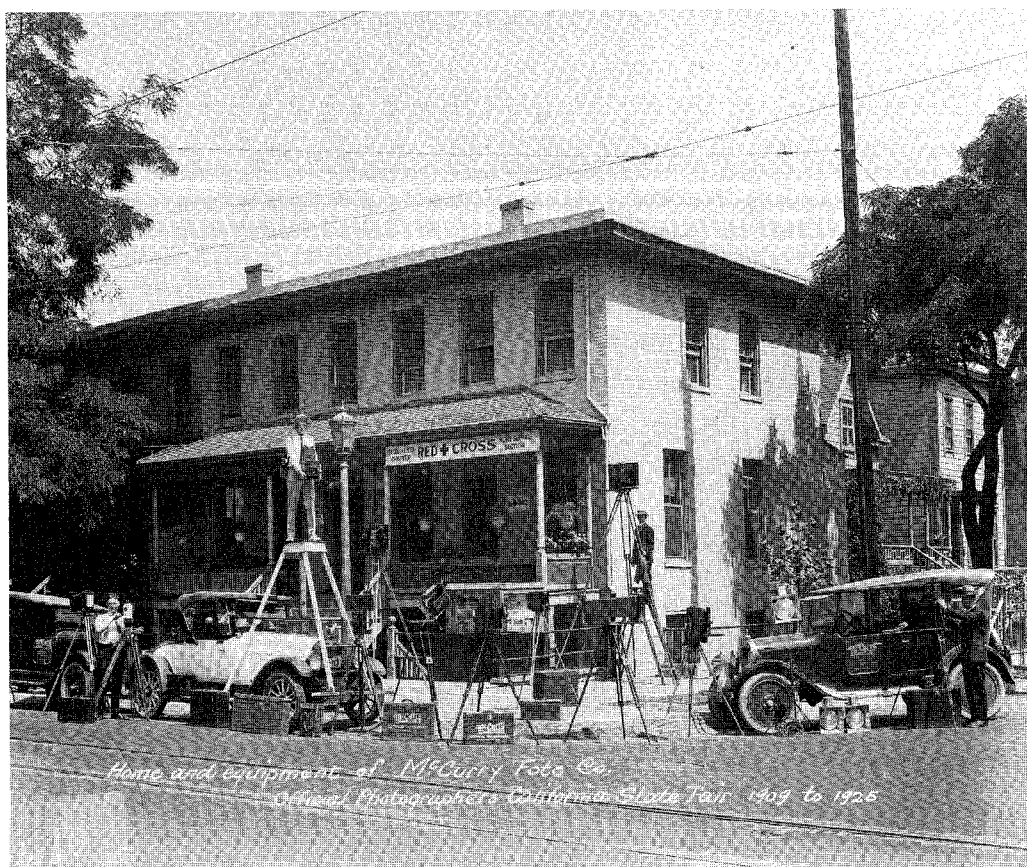
Complementary to the McCurry collection are the photograph albums compiled by Frederick H. Meir. A descendant of a Sacramento pioneer, Meir pasted into his albums over 3000 photographs of the capital city from the 1850s to the 1950s. Most, however, cover the decades of the 1940s and 1950s. The large oblong albums contain professional and amateur snapshots of storefronts, interiors of businesses, street scenes, floods, historic sites, state buildings, the construction of the east wing of the Capitol Building, and the Days of Forty-Nine Parade.

To the north, Henry Sackrider provided coverage of the Marysville-Yuba City area during the 1920s and 1930s. A professional photographer for many years, Sackrider took high quality pictures of business establishments, the many floods that ravaged the twin cities, cemeteries, and Chinese New Year parades. En toto, the collection comprises over 200 images.

Although coverage of California Indians is disappointing, the library has a small but significant group of thirty-nine Emma Freeman portraits. Freeman concentrated on the tribes of her own Northwestern California for photographic subject matter. Like Genthe and Stellman, she employed the soft focus technique to obtain a feeling of romanticism and mystery. She embellished several of these charming



Apparently, the great pioneer photographer C. E. Watkins fancied himself as an argonaut in this "New Boudoir Series" self-portrait. Note his photographer's wagon in the background.



Founded by Harold J. McCurry in 1909, this company not only served as the official photographers of the State Fair, but also as the "unofficial" photographers of the state's capitol city.

portraits with pencil enhancements and preprinted backgrounds. The library is only one of two repositories of this ethnic photographer's work, obtained in 1920. Fortunately, too, the library has a complete set of volumes and portfolios of Edward S. Curtis' celebrated "The North American Indians." The stunning 12 x 16 inch photogravures are regarded as one of the most significant pictorial studies of the California Indians during the early part of this century.

Interest in historic sites and natural wonders inspired many amateur and professional photographers since the daguerrian era. This interest mushroomed in the twentieth century. Fascinated with the missions, old adobes, Mother Lode, redwood forests, wine country, and national and state parks, scores of photographers criss-crossed the state and produced sizable collections. Among the best in the California section is a series of 600 signed and mounted prints by Van Court Warren during the 1950s. Luckily some photographers had the foresight to photograph architecturally significant areas before their destruction. Recently, through a gift and purchase, the library acquired a collection of over 180 views of Los Angeles' historic Bunker Hill district before the wrecking ball and bulldozer literally flattened the hill. Taken by Arnold Hylen of Montebello, these distinctive photographs dating from the 1940s to the 1970s depict once elegant Victorians, hotels, and apartment buildings.

Finally, the library has not neglected the contributions of the great contemporary artistic photographers. Certainly, Ansel Adams stands out. Over the years, the library has made every effort to collect his sumptuously illustrated books and portfolios. Beautifully printed and designed, highlights include his rare "Taos Pueblo" (1930) and the portfolios of "Parmelian Prints of the High Sierra" (1927) and "Yosemite Valley" (1960). As well, the library has obtained several books with original photographs by

such skillful photographers as Brett Weston, Richard J. Julian, Richard J. Elkus, and Arnold Hylen.

In addition to the above described subject and geographic collections, a general file of over 24,000 indexed portraits is available. Arranged by group and individual, it is rich in pictures of pioneers, state officials, authors, and artists. The file holds portraits of every California governor since statehood, prominent politicians, and important visitors to the capital. The general file is supplemented by a huge file of over 6000 indexed portraits of California men who served in World War I; vast numbers of nineteenth century actors and actresses; Hollywood movie stills, and a small number of mug books featuring California's criminal element.

Researchers gain access to the general photograph collection via the card indexes located in the California Room. It is organized by subject, place, and portrait. The library has arranged the geographic index by general views, county and city or town. Cities and towns are further broken down by buildings, institutions such as churches and schools, streets, and events. Those interested in daguerreotypes, ambrotypes and other cased images will find a separate card index. As mentioned earlier, a multi-volume ring binder index lists the stereographs by subject, place and photographer. Most of the photograph albums, however, have been given either a Dewey Decimal or Library of Congress number and are located by main entry in the book catalog. To date, the library has not indexed individual photographs in the albums. To further aid the picture searcher, the California Section staff has compiled separate typed listings of the Watkins and Stelman collections.

The California Section is open to the public Monday through Friday and written inquiries are invited. Photographs will be reproduced for a modest fee.

All of the photographs are courtesy of the California State Library.

Book Reviews

The University of Santa Clara, A History 1851-1977.

By Gerald McKevitt, S.J. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979, 385 pp. \$19.50).

Stanford, From the Foothills to the Bay.

By Peter C. Allen. (Stanford: Stanford Alumni Association and Stanford Historical Society, 1980. 228 pp. \$40.00).

Reviewed by Frank L. Beach, Chairman of the Department of History at the University of San Francisco.

University histories are often mere litanies of names, events, and remembrances—nostalgia meant for those closely associated with the schools. No such perfunctory memorialization mars McKevitt's history of Santa Clara or Allen's Stanford. Although quite different in format, they are impressive and substantial studies of two major private universities located a few miles apart. Whereas Allen, a journalist long associated with "the Farm," presents us with an attractively packaged portrait of Stanford that features stunning photography complemented by a readable and informative, if succinct, text that recounts the school's past as well as its present, McKevitt, a historian, gives us a complete history of Santa Clara that is meticulously researched and documented, objectively presented and superbly drafted. He has unquestionably recorded Santa Clara's story in definitive fashion. Although Allen's work is a fascinating and engaging one, Stanford still awaits a full historical treatment; it is hoped it will be forthcoming in time for the school's centennial anniversary but a decade away.

The two schools developed quite differently from the beginning. McKevitt describes Santa Clara's early development as slow and difficult. Established on the site of a Franciscan mission in 1851 by the Reverend John Nobili, an Italian Jesuit, it was begun as a Catholic bastion of learning to counter California's growing Protestantism. For a half century and more it functioned primarily as a boarding school and "disciplinary citadel" for the general education and moral training of the sons of wealthy Californians. Only when it significantly expanded its curriculum and programs in the early twentieth century did it begin to take on the guise of a full-fledged university. The faculty, for instance, did not include an instructor with an earned Ph.D. until 1932, although it included some remarkable scholars, such as Jerome Richard, "the Padre of

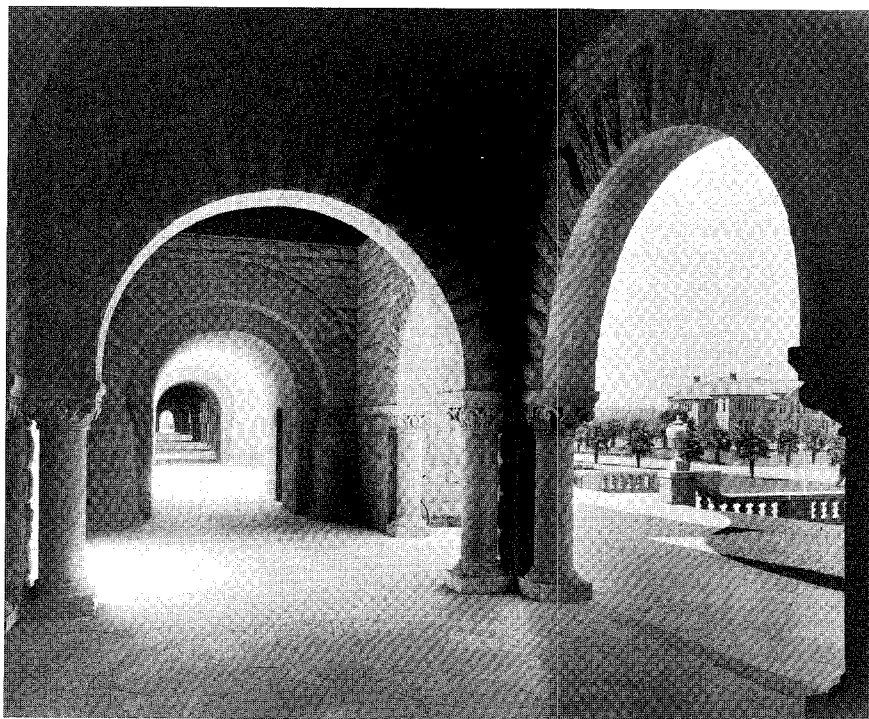
the Rains" who developed the Sunspot theory of long-range weather forecasting, Richard Bell, the "Marconi of the West," Bernard Hubbard, the "Glacier Priest" explorer of the Alaskan wilds, and John Montgomery, whose experiments with free flight are legendary. As late as the 1940s, McKevitt concludes, Santa Clara remained "aloof and protected, a quiet backwater in an agitated sea."

Stanford, on the other hand, experienced an auspicious birth and early development. Under the dynamic direction of David Starr Jordan and the paternal care of Mrs. Stanford, the infant university overcame some momentary adversity, passed through its "Stone Age" of initial construction, and quickly blossomed into the West Coast's leading private university. Moreover, according to Allen, by vigorously promoting research and scholarship Ray Lyman Wilbur (1916-1943) steered Stanford "directly into the currents of vital life in the world" around it. If Santa Clara had an introverted institutional experience, Stanford's was distinctly outgoing and involved.

Santa Clara, however, underwent a dramatic transformation in the fifties and sixties that was fueled by an extraordinary five-fold growth in its student body. It became co-educational, embraced electivism, developed new and varied professional programs and enlarged existing ones, modernized its facilities, and was so characteristic of the times the "old paternalism and authoritarianism gave way to an atmosphere of few restraints." Santa Clara had finally joined the academic mainstream. But in doing so, McKevitt suggests, it paid a price. By shifting from a pronounced posture of religious advocacy to an institutional resemblance of its public counterparts, Santa Clara sacrificed some of its Catholic identity, a situation lamented by those who perceive it as the abandonment of the particular mission of Catholic higher education and applauded by others who believe the change to have been inevitable and educationally for the better.

Stanford experienced no such traumatic change of identity, only the stresses and strains of continued rapid development. Unerringly guided into the modern age by J.E. Wallace Sterling and his successors Stanford earned a reputation as the nation's most innovative and enterprising campus by spawning major centers of scientific, business, and social research, developing a faculty of international renown, excelling at fund-raising, and keying the industrial growth of its area. Stanford by the sixties, in Allen's opinion, had become a world class university.

As institutional histories these books do much more



A view of Stanford University c. 1912. Under dynamic direction the school quickly became the West Coast's leading private university.

than tell tales of the hallowed halls of academe; they celebrate the considerable contributions made by two distinguished universities to the society around them and as such they must be regarded as important additions to the intellectual and social history of California and the San Francisco region.

*Lawrence & Houseworth / Thomas Houseworth Co.,
A Unique View of the West, 1860-1886.*

By Peter E. Palmquist (Columbus, Ohio: National Stereoscopic Association, 1980. 150 pp. \$22.95).

Reviewed by Martha Kennedy, CHS Photographs Curator.

At a time of good fortune in Thomas Houseworth's business, the following claim appeared in its 1869 catalogue: "A stranger in one evening, with a good stereoscope, can form a better idea of California scenery than he could by a month's travel through the state." One begins to understand how the public could believe such a statement after examining Peter Palmquist's account of Lawrence & Houseworth (which became Thomas Houseworth Co. after 1868, after George Lawrence retired).

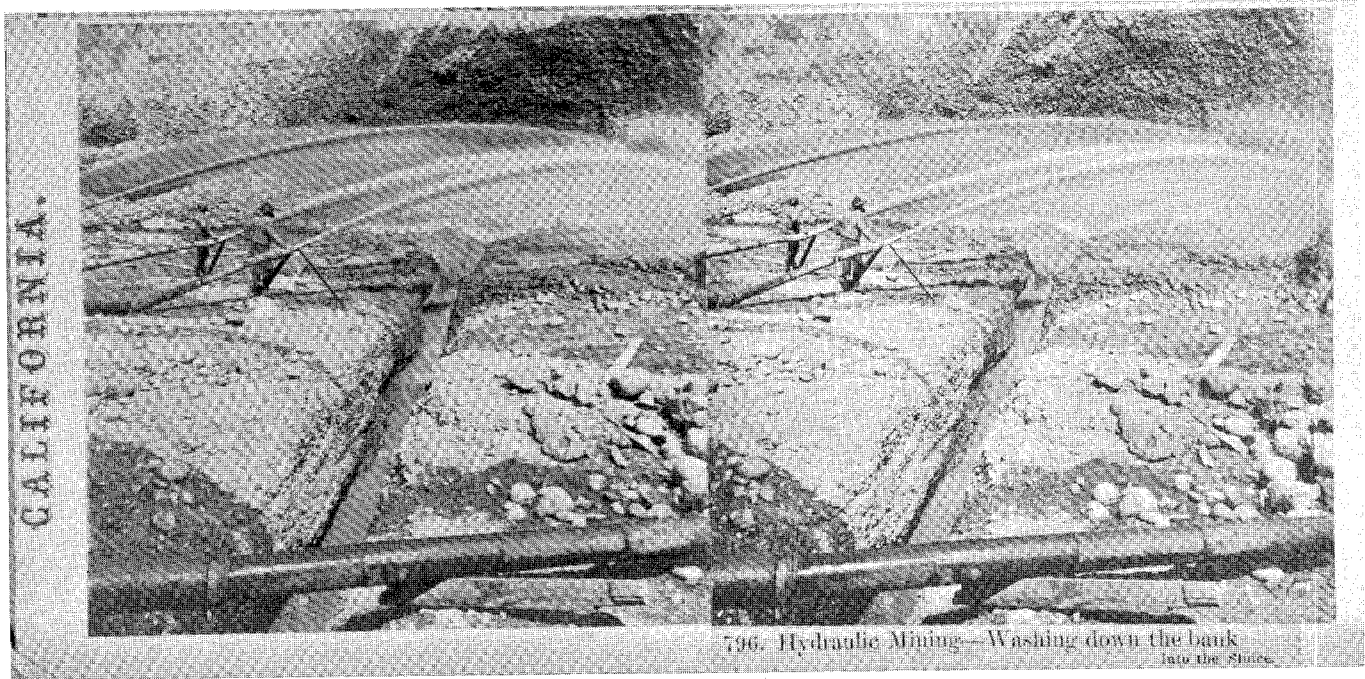
The stereograph consists of two slightly dissimilar images which, when viewed through a stereoscope, blend into one image with three dimensional qualities. In the 1860s, the viewing of the stereographs had gained wide popularity; stereoviews of sites all over the world were

readily available for purchase by the public and the demand for such views of California was great.

Originally opticians in San Francisco, Lawrence and Houseworth began to offer in 1859, on a modest scale, stereoscopic views and viewers to their clientele. By 1863, the partners had begun to obtain numerous images from photographers of the state, and had entered into the business of stereo publishing. Within a decade, the firm had become the leading producer of stereographs in California. When the demand for such views declined markedly in the 1870s, Houseworth boldly opened a gallery that specialized in fine portraiture and built it into a highly successful photographic business in the 1870s. There is, apparently, no evidence to suggest that George Lawrence had any interest in doing photography; furthermore, according to Palmquist, nothing indicates for certain that Thomas Houseworth himself did any camera work until 1870. Despite these facts, Houseworth's firms established a reputation for producing photographic work of high quality. How this came about is carefully related by the author.

He reveals, for example, how Houseworth worked consistently to engage talented photographers such as Charles Weed, George Fiske, and others to provide stereoscopic negatives to the firm. In addition to a sizable stock of good images, the capacity for effective marketing and mass production of good quality was also critical. Income from their optical business, combined with Houseworth's shrewdly calculated expansion of stereo offerings and promotion of them, all contributed to the success of their business. Unlike Carleton E. Watkins, a major rival in the production of fine views, but a poor businessman, Law-

*A Lawrence & Houseworth stereo view—
Hydraulic mining in California (c. 1864-65)*



rence & Houseworth/Thomas Houseworth Co. dominated the market for such production.

To a greater extent than other firms, Houseworth's had its photographers systematically photograph all notable phenomena, natural and man-made, in central California. It published a first rate series of images that capture the appearance of early San Francisco, other cities and towns in the Bay area and Central Valley, the Yosemite Valley, mining in Tuolumne County and the Nevada Comstock, and railroads throughout the state. These series provide exceptionally thorough documentation of sites and areas in California at a time of crucial change. During 1860-1886, the years covered in this book, agricultural and industrial development, as well as patterns of urban expansion were being established in the state. The unique contribution of Lawrence & Houseworth/Thomas Houseworth Co. in visually recording this important period is conveyed in the author's concise text and summarized by his impressive listings of titles published by the firm.

An expert on the history of photography in California, Peter Palmquist is known for many publications which include two fine books on photographers, a biography of

pictorialist Emma B. Freeman and a monograph on Augustus W. Ericson, printer and photographer. In the preface to this book, he states that he began this work with the seemingly straightforward aim of compiling as complete as possible a listing of stereo titles issued by Lawrence & Houseworth and Thomas Houseworth Co. The author has organized this information into four appendices that list stereoviews issued by Lawrence & Houseworth, those issued by Thomas Houseworth & Co., the later series of portraits published as Houseworth's *Celebrities*, and titles of mammoth views also published by the firm. The lists represent the product of exhaustive research and will prove a highly valuable resource to many collectors, curators, and librarians with large holdings of stereographs.

The variety and quality of images issued by Houseworth's firms is indicated by many well chosen illustrations in this book. Examples from the series of stereos, Houseworth's *Celebrities* and business ephemera complement the text and lists of titles. In addition to representative views of Yosemite and San Francisco, subjects such as a Cactus Giganta, the Launch of the *Comanche* in San Francisco, Washoe and Digger Indians, as well as a Chinese

Book Reviews

ragpicker are reproduced. The quality of reproduction is generally good; most images appear clear and sharp, yet varied in tone, although enlargements of some stereos are disappointing.

It is fortunate that the author broadened the original purpose of his study, for he has put together a well researched, thoroughly documented history of a prominent photographic business in California. In so doing, he has broken new ground among recently published works in the history of photography. Although studies of nineteenth century photographers have been done, few if any thorough studies of photographic publishing firms have emerged before this book. Palmquist has also gone far toward assessing the significant role of stereo publishing in the history of photography in California.

Although the book addresses these broad issues, there remain some unanswered questions that are narrower in scope, yet worth mention. Given the diligent, enterprising character of Houseworth, as portrayed by the author, one would like to know more about his personal involvement in the practice of photography. More discussion that compares other stereopublishers' offerings with Houseworth's would also be welcome.

In providing an excellent account of Houseworth's firms, the author reveals the competitive milieu in which the photographic community of San Francisco evolved. The book is also invaluable in that it illuminates the importance of a leading photographic establishment in documenting an era during which California and the West underwent decisive transformation.

Voices for the Earth: A Treasury of the Sierra Club Bulletin.

Edited by Ann Gilliam. Introduction by Harold Gilliam. (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1979. xxi, 567 pp. \$19.95).

Reviewed by John B. Gleason, Professor of English in the University of San Francisco, a member of many conservation organizations and a teacher and writer in the field of Elizabethan literary history.

The long history of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* from 1893 to the present mirrors the Club's unfolding purposes. In

Voices for the Wilderness, a bedside book of the best sort, Ann Gilliam has given a kind of "highlights" impression of the *Bulletin*, faster moving and more deliberately entertaining than the *Bulletin* itself. In 148 three- or four-page selections, often much pruned from the originals, Ann Gilliam covers a wide variety of topics, attractively laced with humor and anecdote. Besides the predictable topics, a whole section is devoted to climbing and another to illustrious members of the past. All this is most welcome, especially illustrated with some of the photographs that have been among the *Bulletin's* great strengths.

On matters that are controversial within the Club there is a distinct note of caution. One illustrious member of the present day is laconically described in a headnote as follows: "Brower served as editor of the *Bulletin* and as executive director of the club. He is now an honorary vice-president. In 1969 he founded Friends of the Earth, of which he is president." More helpfully, a member of a hiking party David Brower led recalls, "Dave always took us to the upper limits of places, I soon found out." This tendency was to have a sequel, for which one has to turn to the noble Profile of Brower in *The New Yorker* for March 20, 1971 and the two following issues. The two long and valuable sections on "The Club Militant," a third of the book, show the Club uniformly pitted against external foes but not against itself. The atmosphere of *Voices for the Wilderness* is agreeably clubby—the Sierra Club is after all a club—but the history of its search for self-definition would lend a deeper moral dimension to this handsome and upbeat volume.

The photographs are from the CHS Library.

California Check List

By Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Adams, Alexander B. *The Disputed Lands*. New York: Putnams, 1981. 476 pp. \$17.95.
- Balsley, Betsy. *The Los Angeles Times California Cookbook*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles Times. \$25.00.
- Barton, Walter E. *In the Twilight of my Memory: Windows to the Past*. Ardmore, PA: Dorrance and Company, Publishers, 1981. Publisher, Cricket Terrace Center, Ardmore, PA 19003. \$5.00.
- Bookspan, Martin and Ross Yockey. *Andre Previn: A Biography*. New York: Doubleday, 1981.
- Bradley, Bill. *Commercial Los Angeles, 1925-1947: Photographs from the "Dick" Whittington Studio*. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1981. 144 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 6444, Glendale, 91206. \$14.95.
- Brown, Oran Weston. *The Lost Hueneme and Port Hueneme*. Author, 1981. 200 pp.
- Butler, Phyllis Filiberti. *The Valley of Santa Clara: Historic Buildings, 1792-1920*. Novato: Presidio Press, 1981. 191 pp. Publisher, 31 Pamaron Way, Novato, 94947. \$8.95.
- California Institute of Public Affairs. *Ethnic Groups in California: A Guide to Organizations and Information Resources*. Claremont: California Institute of Public Affairs, 1981. Publisher, Claremont Colleges, P.O. Box 10, Claremont, 91711. \$16.50.
- Carson, John Victor. *Reminiscences of Dominguez Ranch and the Carson Family: An Oral History* . . . 2nd edition. Dominguez Hills: Dominguez Archives Committee, California State University, 1981. 47 pp.
- Chase, Evelyn Hyman. *Mountain Climber: George B. Bayley, 1840-1894*. Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1981. 173 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 558, Palo Alto, 94302. \$12.95.
- Clauss, Francis J. *Alcatraz, "Island of Many Mistakes."* Menlo Park: Briarcliff Press, 1981. 87 pp. Author, 196 Sand Hill Circle. Menlo Park, 94025. \$4.95.
- Cole, Tom. *A Short History of San Francisco*. San Francisco: Lexikos, 1981. 144 pp. Publisher, 703 Market St., San Francisco, 94103. \$12.95 (cloth); \$7.95 (paper).
- Dasmann, Raymond F. *California's Changing Environment*. San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1981. 76 pp. Publisher, 3627 Sacramento St., San Francisco, 94118.
- Ditlefsen, Charles. 1982 "Those Magnificent Trains" Calendar. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1981. Publisher, P.O. Box 6444, Glendale, 91205. \$5.95.
- Doss, Margot Patterson. *The Bay Area at Your Feet*. Revised edition. San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1981. 288 pp. Publisher, 31 Pamaron Way, Novato, 94947. \$7.95.
- Fonda, Henry. *Henry Fonda, as told to Howard Teichmann*. New York: NAL Books, 1981. \$15.95.
- Futcher, Jane and Robert Conover. *Marin: The Place, the People*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1981. 171 pp. \$24.95.
- Gates, Paul Wallace. *Pressure Groups and Recent American Land Policies*. The Carl Becker Lecture, Ithaca, NY: Department of History, Cornell University, 1980. Publisher, McGraw Hill, Ithaca, NY 14853.
- Geary, Mary DeForest. *A Giant in Those Days*. Brunswick, GA: Coastal Books, 1981. Publisher, 1208 Gloucester St., Brunswick, GA 31520.
- Hammond, Richard. *The San Joaquin Valley*. Photographs by Richard Hammond. Writing (and printing) by Nick Zachreson. Visalia: Rick

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- Hammond Photography, 1979. 141 pp. Publisher, 705 S. Court St., Visalia, 93277. \$25.00.
- Higham, Charles. *Bette: The Life of Bette Davis*. New York: Macmillan, 1981. \$12.95.
- Hirschhorn, Clive. *The Hollywood Musical*. Foreword by Gene Kelly. New York: Crown, 1981. \$30.00.
- Holland, F. Ross, Jr. and Henry G. Law. *The Old Point Loma Lighthouse, Cabrillo National Monument, San Diego, California*. Historic Structure Report. Denver, CO: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1981. 248 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 25287, Denver, CO 80225.
- Hopkins, Henry. *50 West Coast Artists: A Critical Selection of Painters and Sculptors Working in California*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1981. \$17.95.
- Lamson, Berenice. *There's Only One Coke*. In collaboration with the late Dr. R. Coke Wood. Sonora: Mother Lode Press, July, 1981. Author, 3253 Calhoun Way, Stockton, 95209. \$12.00.
- Layman, Richard. *Shadow Man: The Life of Dashiell Hammett*. New York: Harcourt and Brucoli Clark, 1981. 352 pp. \$14.95.
- Lewis, Ernest Allen. *The Fremont Cannon: High Up and Far Back*. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1981. 168 pp. \$32.50, limited edition.
- Lockwood, Charles. *Dream Palaces*. New York: Viking, 1981. \$19.95.
- Longtin, Ray C. *Three Writers of the Far West: A Reference Guide*. (Joaquin Miller, Charles Warren Stoddard, and George Sterling). Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980. 296 pp. Publisher, 70 Lincoln St., Boston, Mass. \$32.50.
- Losson, Jill and Gene Anthony. *The Great Cable Car Adventure Book*. Novato: Presidio Press, 1981. 144 pp. Publisher, 31 Pamaron Way, Novato, 94947. \$6.95.
- McCall, Dewitt Clinton III. *California Artists 1935 to 1956*. Bellflower: De Rus Fine Art Books, 1981. 212 pp. Publisher, 9100 Artesia Blvd., Bellflower, 90706. \$50, Library binding; \$150, Deluxe edition.
- Magnin, Cyril and Cynthia Robins. *Call Me Cyril*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981. \$12.95.
- Marinacci, Barbara and Rudy. *Take Sunset Boulevard: The Fabulous New Way to See L.A.* Novato: Presidio Press, 1981. Publisher, 31 Pamaron Way, Novato, 94947. \$7.95.
- Meyers, George. *Yosemite Climber*. Berkeley: Wilderness Press, 1981. 96 pp. Publisher, 2440 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 94704. \$17.50.
- Miller, Ronald Dean. *Shady Ladies of the West*. Republication. Tucson: Westernlore, 1981. Publisher, P.O. Box 35305, Tucson, AZ 85704. \$8.50.
- Nemiroff, Suzanne de Beaulieu. *A Twelve Year Index of the Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly*. Santa Monica: Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly, 1981. 130 pp. Publisher, 2429-23rd St., Santa Monica, 90405. \$25.00.
- Nicholson, Loren. *Rails Across the Ranchos*. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1980. 197 pp. \$18.95.
- Parks, Annette White. *qh awala li, "water coming down place." A History of Gualala, Mendocino County, California*. Ukiah: Freshcut Press, 1981. 160 pp. Publisher, 133 Clara Ave., Ukiah, 95482. Limited edition, \$45; \$24.00 (cloth); \$12.95 (paper).
- Perry, John. *Jack London: An American Myth*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1981. 356 pp. \$21.95 (cloth); \$10.95 (paper).
- Rexroth, Kenneth. *Excerpts from a Life*. Santa Barbara: Conjunction Books, 1981. 61 pp. \$45.00 (signed). San Francisco. Public Library. Friends. *1906 Remembered*. San Francisco: City Guides Oral History Committee, 1980. \$7.00.
- Schaffer, Jeffrey P. *Lassen Volcanic National Park: A Natural History Guide to Lassen Volcanic National Park, Caribou Wilderness, Hat Creek Valley and McArthur-Burney Falls State Park*. Berkeley: Wilderness Press, 1981. 224 pp. Publisher, 2440 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 94704. \$12.95.
- Sidney-Fryer, Donald (comp) *Emperor of Dreams: A Clark Ashton Smith Bibliography*. West Kingston, RI: Donald M. Grant, 1978. 303 pp.
- Smith, Harry. *Harry Smith: Magic Moments*. Los Angeles: Stephen White Editions, 1981. Publisher, 752 N. La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles, 90069. \$19.95.
- Snaer, Seymour. *San Francisco 1939, an Intimate Photographic Portrait*. Livermore: Working Press, 1981. 48 pp. Publisher, Box 687, Livermore, 94550. \$5.95 (paper).
- Swett, Ira L., et al. *Sacramento Northern*. Third printing with updated information. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1981. 208 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 6444, Glendale, 91205. \$18.95.
- Theatre Directory of the Bay Area, 1981*. San Francisco: Theatre Communications Center of the Bay Area, 1981. Publisher, 1182 Market St., San Francisco, 94102. \$7.00.
- Tomlin, Pinky. *The Object of My Affection: An Autobiography*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981. 208 pp. \$12.50.
- Turnbull, Betty. *California: The State of Landscape, 1872-1981*. Newport Beach: Newport Harbor Art Museum, 1981. 107 pp. Publisher, 850 San Clemente Drive, Newport Beach, 92660.
- Turner, John. *White Gold Comes to California*. Fresno: California Planting Cotton Seed Distributors, 1981. (Order from) Panorama West Books, 8 East Olive Ave., Fresno, 93728. 272 pp. \$25.00.
- Whitnah, Dorothy L. *Point Reyes: A Guide to the Trails, Roads, Beaches, Campgrounds, Lakes, Trees, Flowers and Rocks of Point Reyes National Seashore*. Berkeley: Wilderness Press, 1981. 114 pp. Publisher, 2440 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 94704. \$6.95.

Coming Through: A Wells Fargo Tradition.

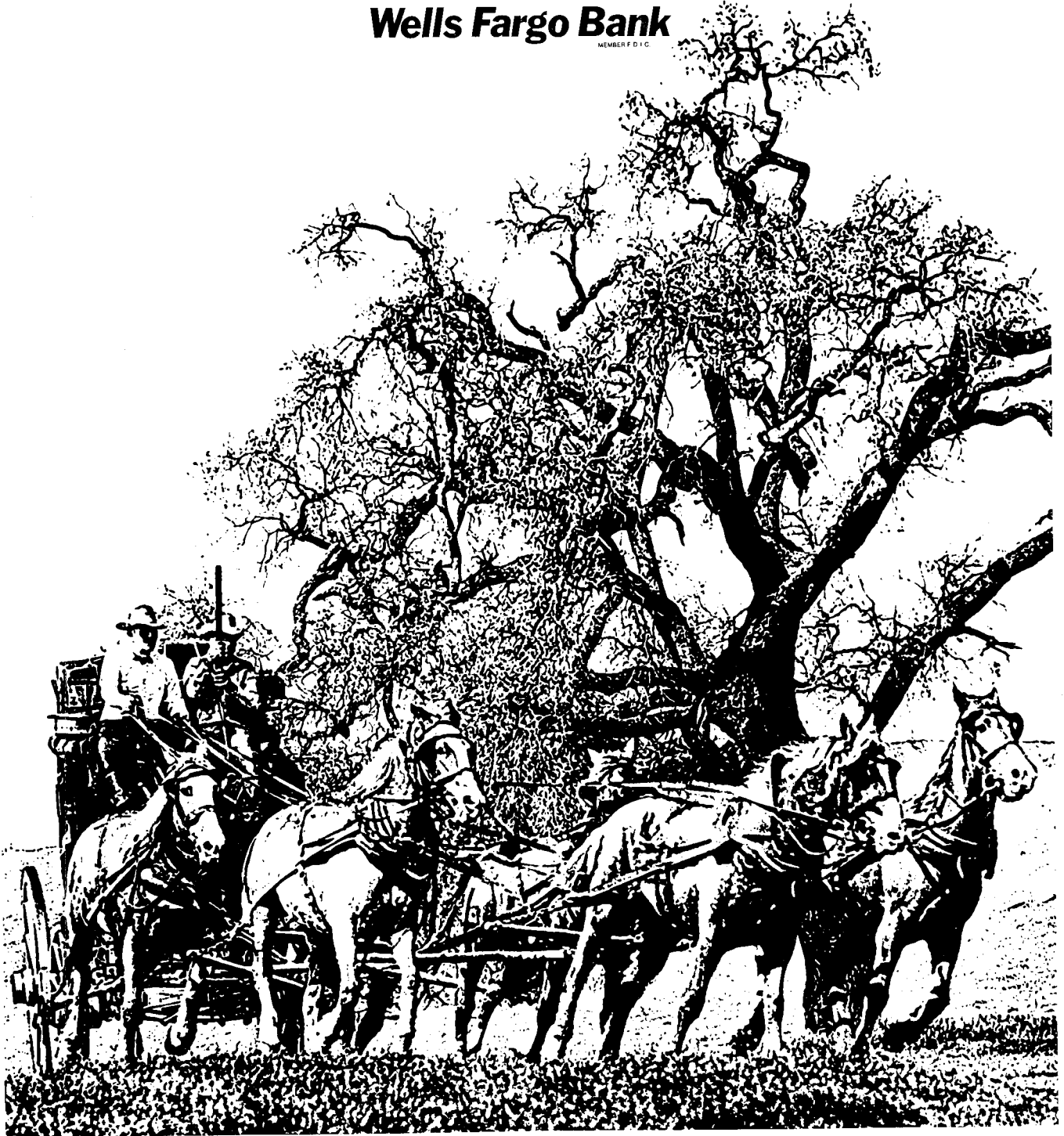
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